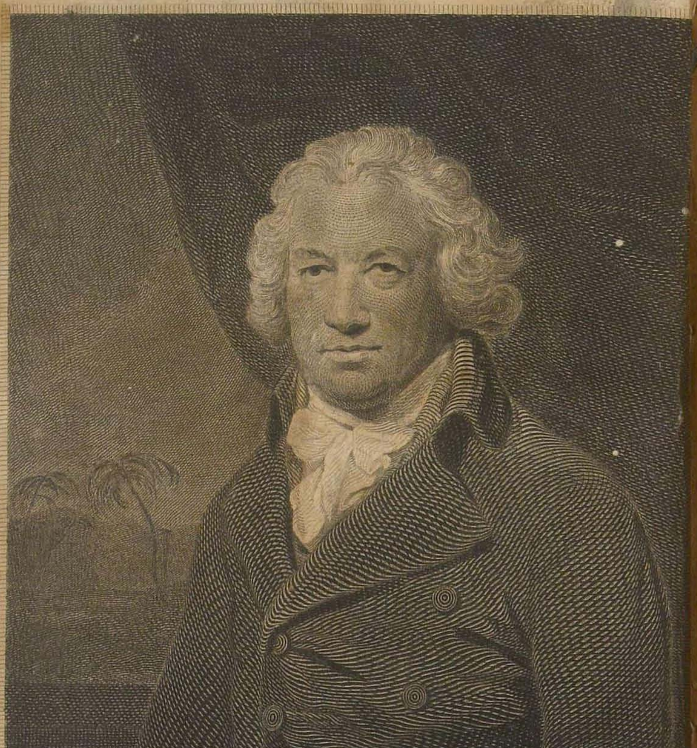

*Abbot Pinxit.* *Holloway sc.*

BRYAN EDWARDS ESQ.R

*Publish'd Sept. 25, 1800 by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.*

Serfojee Rajah 1829

THE

# HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

# BRITISH COLONIES

1462

IN THE

# WEST INDIES.

By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

*ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.*

VOL. I.

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TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THIS

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL

SURVEY 1462

OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN THE

WEST INDIES;

WHICH,

UNDER HIS MILD AND AUSPICIOUS GOVERNMENT,

ARE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE NATIONAL OPULENCE AND MARITIME POWER;

IS,

WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECT

AND SERVANT,

London, 3d June, 1793.

BRYAN EDWARDS.

# PREFATORY ADVERTISEMENT*.

TO this enlarged and corrected Edition of the Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, it was the intention of the Author to prefix a Preface, touching every ſource of additional intelligence, every rectification of error, and the general completion of his views, in furniſhing every document of commerce, of policy, and of natural hiſtory, as connected with the countries and the people he deſcribes. He had carefully reviſed and corrected the text of his Book, preparatory to ſuch eſſay, developing the ſcheme of its conſtruction, and the philoſophy of its contents. But death interrupted the deſign;—and ere the laſt ſheet was reviſed from the preſs—BRYAN EDWARDS was no more! He had long ſuffered from the diſorder which brought him to the grave, and ſeemed to foreſee the hour of diſſolution haſtening on; as the Sketch of his Life, written by himſelf, clearly denotes.



* *By Sir William Young, Bart.*

notes. Rendered incapable, by weakneſs and diſeaſe, of completing his greater deſign of a Prefatory Diſcourſe; yet, with a fond anxiety for honeſt fame, he rouſed the embers of his genius,—to claim a fair reputation with poſterity for induſtry, integrity, and candid expoſition of the talents and acquirements which introduced him to publick notice. The firmneſs of his mind, and the cheerfulneſs of his temper, which throughout a long and checquered life, gave confidence to his friendſhips, and delight in his ſociety, forſook him not, as he apprehended its laſt ſhort hour before him: this he clearly ſhews, when, turning from the awful conſideration of futurity, to look back on his paſt life, himſelf brings the retroſpect to our view, and deſcribes the ſcene in ſo pure and lively colours, with no gloom from diſcontent, and no ſhade from remorſe, that we readily infer the nature of the light which ſo beamed on this his laſt work, and to his laſt hour;—and pronounce its emanation to be from the pure conſcience of a benevolent and upright man. Under ſuch impreſſion, the Editor has peculiar ſatisfaction in fulfilling the injunction of his departed friend, and prefixing to this Edition "THE LIFE OF

THE AUTHOR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF."—The time at which it was compoſed, and the compoſition itſelf, impreſs the Editor with every feeling of dear regard and of duty; and, (as a part of that duty) with the propriety of ſubmitting ſome further remark on this laſt literary effort of his excellent Friend. Thoſe who knew and were intimate with Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS, will recognize, in this ſhort account of himſelf, the energy of mind, the induſtry, and the truth, which characterized his converſations and his life; but all muſt allow, and ſome muſt object, that much therein is omitted, which has uſual and proper place in biography, and which the Editor might be preſumed, or be called upon, to ſupply. Some account might be required, of his literary eſſays and legiſlative acts, ſo efficient in the cauſe of humanity towards the negroes, whilſt a member of the aſſembly in Jamaica:—Some account might be demanded, of this good and independent man, whilſt a member of the Britiſh parliament; and, eſpecially in the poſthumous life of a literary man, ſome accurate detail of his literary purſuits and writings might be expected.—Of BRYAN EDWARDS,—of his Correſpondence,—of his Eſſays, and

of his conduct in the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungoe Park,—and ſpecially, of the origin and progreſs of the great Work herewith ſubmitted to the Publick—to theſe, and other points, the recollection of the reader is thus awakened. The Editor preſumes no further. He cannot venture to alter, or add to, the ſacred depoſit committed to his charge,—and now gives it to the Publick, as its Author left, and *willed* it, to be given.

# SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

## WRITTEN BY HIMSELF A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

I WAS born the 21ſt of May 1743, in the decayed town of Weſtbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a ſmall paternal eſtate, in the neighbourhood, of about £.100 per annum; which proving but a ſcanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the buſineſs, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little ſucceſs. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and ſix children, in diſtreſſed circumſtances.—Luckily for my mother, ſhe had two opulent brothers in the Weſt Indies, one of them a wiſe and worthy man, of a liberal mind, and princely fortune. This was Zackary Bayly, of the Iſland of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection, and

and as I was the eldeſt ſon, directed that I ſhould be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the ſchool of a diſſenting miniſter in Briſtol, whoſe name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and good man, but by a ſtrange abſurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my ſtudies to writing, arithmetick, and the Engliſh grammar. I ſhould therefore have had little to do, but that the ſchoolmaſter had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different ſubjects, ſuch as, the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the miſchief of idleneſs, &c. &c. previouſly ſtating to them the chief arguments to be urged; and inſiſting on correctneſs in orthography and grammar. In this employment, I had ſometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my maſter never failed to praiſe me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently tranſmit my letters to my father and mother.—This excited in my mind a ſpirit of emulation, and, I believe, gave me the firſt taſte for correct

correct and elegant compofition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Briftol confidered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding fchool in the fame city, where I foon obtained the French language, and having accefs to a circulating library, I acquired a paffion for books, which has fince become the folace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle, came to England, and fettling in London, took me to refide with him, in a high and elegant ftyle of life. He was a reprefentative in Parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.—Further, I cannot fpeak of him fo favourably as I could wifh; for I remember that at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me, was fuch, as not to infpire me with much refpect: he perceived it; and foon after, in the latter end of the fame year, fent me to Jamaica.—This proved a happy and fortunate change in my life, for I found my eldeft uncle the reverfe, in every poffible circumftance, of his brother. To the moft enlarged and enlightened mind,

he

he added the ſweeteſt temper, and the moſt generous diſpoſition. His tenderneſs towards me was exceſſive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Obſerving my paſſion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend Iſaac Teale) to reſide in his family, chiefly to ſupply by his inſtructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been maſter of a free grammar ſchool, and beſides being a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar, poſſeſſed an exquiſite taſte for poetry, of which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for Auguſt 1771, the beautiful copy of verſes, there firſt publiſhed, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his compoſition. I dare not ſay, however, that I made any great progreſs in the languages under his tuition; I acquired "*ſmall Latin, and leſs* "*Greek*;" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The caſe was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the ſtudy of it inſupportably diſguſting, after that I had acquired a taſte for the

the beauties of fine writing. Poetry was our chief amuſement; for my friend, as well as myſelf, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over ſyntax and proſody *. We preferred Belles Lettres.—We laughed away many a happy hour over the plays of Molière, and wrote verſes on local and temporary ſubjects, which we ſometimes publiſhed in the Colonial newſpapers. Yet the Latin claſſicks were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of Horace, and would frequently impoſe on me the taſk of tranſlating an ode into Engliſh verſe, which with his aſſiſtance, in conſtruing the words, I ſometimes accompliſhed.

Having made myſelf known to the publick by my writings, it is probable that after I am in the grave, that ſome collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furniſh ſome particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleaſant to think that miſrepreſentation or malice may faſten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amuſement of an idle

* Vide Armſtrong.

hour,

hour, to compile a ſhort account of myſelf. My perſonal hiſtory, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furniſh no diverſified ſcenes of fortune, nor relate many circumſtances of myſelf, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an Author, and am willing to hope, that thoſe who have read my Book with approbation, will be glad to know ſomething further concerning me:

For who, to dumb forgetfulneſs a prey, &c.

For the ſatisfaction then of ſuch kind readers (if ſuch there are) and the information of my poſterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I deſire my Bookſeller to prefix to the next Edition of my Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.

*B. E.*

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## COLUMBUS and his Sons DIEGO and FERDINAND. From an ancient Spaniſh Picture in the Poſſeſſion of EDWARD HORNE, Eſq. of Bevis Mount, near Southampton.

THE Picture from which this Engraving is made, bears the marks of great antiquity, and from the words *Mar del Sud* on the chart repreſented in it, is known to be Spaniſh. The principal figure is certainly COLUMBUS, and the two young men are believed to be his ſons, DIEGO and FERDINAND, to whom COLUMBUS ſeems to point out the courſe of the voyages he had made. The globe, the charts, and aſtronomical inſtruments, ſupport this conjecture, and the figure of Hope, in the back ground, alludes probably to the great expectations which were formed throughout all Europe, of ſtill greater diſcoveries. From the mention of a Southern Ocean, imperfectly and dubiouſly repreſented, (as an object at that time rather of ſearch than of certainty) there is reaſon to believe that the picture was painted immediately on COLUMBUS's return from his fourth voyage, in 1504, becauſe it is related by Lopez de Gomera, a cotemporary hiſtorian*, that the admiral, when at Porto Bello, in 1502, had received information that there was *a great ocean on the other ſide of the continent extending ſouthwards*; and it is well known, that all his labours afterwards, in the fourth voyage, were directed to find out an entrance into the Southern Ocean from the Atlantick; for which purpoſe he explored more than 300 leagues of coaſt, from Cape *Gracios a Dios* to the Gulph of Darien; but the actual diſcovery of the South Sea was reſerved for Vaſco Nunez de Balboa. The age of COLUMBUS's Sons, at the time of his return from his fourth voyage, correſponds with their appearance in the picture. The youngeſt of them, ſome years afterwards, compiled a ſhort hiſtory of his Father's life; in the third chapter of which I find the following very curious deſcription of COLUMBUS's perſon and manners, with which the picture, as far as it goes, is found alſo to correſpond:

"Fue

* F. L. de Gomara Hiſtoria de las Indias, cap. 60.

"Fue el almirante hombre de bien formada, i mas que mediana eſtatura; la cara larga, las megillas un poco altas, ſin declinar à gordo ò macilento; la nariz aquilina, los ojos blancos i de blanco de color encendido; en ſu mocedad tuvo el cabello blondo; pero de treinta años ia le tenia blanco; en el comer, i beber, i en el adorno de ſu perſona er a mui modeſto i continente; afable en la converſation con los eſtraños i con los de caſa mui agradable, con modeſtia i gravidad: fue tan obſervante de las coſas de la religion, que en los ayunos, i en reçar el oficio divino, pudiera ſer tenido por profeſſo en religion; tan enemigo de juramento, i blasfemia, que yo juro, que jamas le vì echar otro juramento que por ſan Fernando; y quando ſe hallaba mas irritado con alguno, era ſu reprehenſion decir le: os doi à dios porque hic iſteis eſto ò dijiſteis aquello: ſi alguna vez tenia que eſcrivir, no probaba la pluma, ſin eſcrivir eſtas palabras *Jeſus cum Maria ſit nobis in via*; y contan buena letra que baſtàra para ganar de comer."

La Hiſt. del Almirante Don Chriſt. Colon. C. 3.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and his SONS DIEGO and FERDINAND.

Wilson sculp.

From an ancient Spanish Picture in the possession of Edward Horne Esq.r
of Bevis Mount near Southampton.

Publish'd Dec: 13. 1794. by J. Stockdale. Piccadilly.

# PREFACE

TO THE

# FIRST EDITION.

THE discovery of a new Hemisphere by CRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, and the progress of the Spaniards in the conquest of it, have been deservedly the theme of a long series of histories in the several languages of Europe; and the subject has been recently resumed and illustrated by a celebrated Writer among ourselves.—It is not therefore my intention to tread again in so beaten a track, by the recital of occurrences of which few can be ignorant, if the noblest exertions of the human mind, producing events the most singular and important in the history of the world, are circumstances deserving admiration and enquiry.

MY attempt, which I feel to be sufficiently arduous, is,

To present the Reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands;—

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them;—

character of the American nations. Whether from a desire to lessen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, or from a strange affectation of paradox and singularity, falsely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to assert, that the air and climate, or other physical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of soil, climate, and seasons, which prevail in the several great provinces of North and South America;—notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and distinguished also by many different languages; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species; that they were creatures of no consideration in the book of Nature;—denied the refined invigorating sentiment of love,—and not possessing even any very powerful degree of animal desire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system entitled '*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*' declares, with unexampled arrogance, that there never has been found, throughout the whole extent of the New World, a single individual of superior sagacity to the rest. And the scope of his treatise is to demonstrate, that the poor savages were actuated, not by reason, but by a sort of animal instinct; that Nature, having bestowed

beſtowed on the whole ſpecies a certain ſmall degree of intellect, to which they all individually attain, placed an inſurmountable barrier againſt their further progreſs: — of courſe, that they are not (properly ſpeaking) *men*, but beings of a ſecondary and ſubordinate rank in the ſcale of creation.

Although our own learned Hiſtorian *(a)* is much too enlightened to adopt, in their fulleſt extent, theſe opinions;—which cannot, indeed, be read without indignation;—yet it is impoſſible to deny, that they have had ſome degree of influence in the general eſtimate which he has framed of the American character: for he aſcribes to all the natives of the New World many of thoſe imperfections on which the ſyſtem in queſtion is founded; and repeatedly aſſerts, that "the qualities belonging to the people of *all* the different tribes may be painted with the ſame features *(b)*." With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful that this author is ſometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told that "the Americans are, in an amazing degree, ſtrangers to the firſt inſtinct of nature (a paſſion for the ſex), and, *in every part of the New World*, treat their women with coldneſs and indifference *(c)*." Yet we find ſoon afterwards, that, "*in ſome countries of the New World*, the women are valued and admired, the animal paſſion of the ſexes becomes ardent, and the diſſolution of their manners is ex-

*(a)* Dr. Robertſon.
*(b)* Hiſtory of America, Vol. I. p. 280 and 283.
*(c)* P. 292.

 ceſſive."

ceſſive *(d)*." It is elſewhere obſerved, that " the Americans were not only averſe to toil, but incapable of it, and ſunk under taſks which the people of the other continent would have performed with eaſe; and it is added, that " this feebleneſs of conſtitution *was univerſal, and may be conſidered as characteriſtick of the ſpecies (e)*." It appears, however, in a ſubſequent page, that " wherever the Americans have been gradually accuſtomed to hard labour, their conſtitutions become robuſt enough to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or Europe *(f)*." Perſonal debility, therefore, could not have been the peculiar characteriſtick of the American ſpecies; for the human frame, in every part of the globe, acquires ſtrength by gradual employment, and is comparatively feeble without it.

AGAIN: Among the qualities which the Hiſtorian conſiders as univerſally predominant in the Americans, he aſcribes to them, in a remarkable degree, a hardneſs of heart and a brutal inſenſibility to the ſufferings of their fellow-creatures *(g)*. " So little (he obſerves) is the breaſt of a ſavage ſuſceptible of thoſe ſentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates diſtreſs, in ſome provinces of America the Spaniards have found it neceſſary to enforce the common duties of humanity by poſitive laws *(h)*." Neither is this account of their inflexibility confined to the fero-

*(d)* Hiſtory of America, Vol. I. p. 296. *(e)* P. 290.
*(f)* P. 294. *(g)* P. 405. *(h)* P. 406.

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cious barbarian of the northern provinces, or to the miſerable outcaſt of Terra del Fuego. The author extends his deſcription to all the uncivilized inhabitants of the New Hemiſphere. It conſtitutes a ſtriking feature in his general eſtimate; for he eſtabliſhes it as a fixed principle, that "in every part of the deportment of man in his ſavage ſtate, whether towards his equals of the human ſpecies, or towards the animals below him, we recognize the ſame character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, without much attention or ſenſibility to the ſentiments and feelings of the beings around him *(i)*."

Certainly the learned Author, while employed in this repreſentation, had wholly forgotten the account which he had before given of the firſt interview between the Spaniards and the natives of Hiſpaniola, when a ſhip of Columbus was wrecked on that iſland. "As ſoon (ſays the Hiſtorian) as they heard of the diſaſter, they crouded to the ſhore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Inſtead of taking advantage of the diſtreſs in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune *with tears of ſincere condolence*. Not ſatisfied with this unavailing expreſſion of their ſympathy, they put to ſea a vaſt number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, aſſiſted in ſaving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the

*(i)* Hiſtory of America, Vol. I. p. 407.

united labour of ſo many hands, almoſt every thing of value was carried aſhore. Guacanahari in perſon took charge of the goods, and prevented the multitude not only from embezzling, but even from inſpecting too curiouſly what belonged to their gueſts. Next morning this prince viſited Columbus, *and endeavoured to conſole him for his loſs by offering all that he poſſeſſed to repair it.*"

THUS exceptions preſent themſelves to every general concluſion, until we are burthened with their variety:—And at laſt we end juſt where we began; for the wonderful uniformity which is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed the American Indians, cannot be ſupported by analogy, becauſe it is not founded on nature.

OF the other branches of my work, great part, I preſume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furniſh a comprehenſive and ſatisfactory account of the origin and progreſs of our national ſettlements in the tropical parts of America. The ſyſtem of agriculture practiſed in the Weſt Indies, is almoſt as much unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know, indeed, that ſugar, and indigo, and coffee, and cotton, are raiſed and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a ſurpriſing degree, uninformed concerning the method by which thoſe and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection. So remarkable indeed is the want of information in this reſpect, even among perſons of the moſt extenſive general knowledge, that in a

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law queſtion which came by appeal from one of the Sugar Iſlands a few years ago, the noble and learned earl who preſided at the hearing, thinking it neceſſary to give ſome account of the nature of rum and melaſſes (much being ſtated in the pleadings concerning the value of thoſe commodities) aſſured his auditors with great ſolemnity, that "melaſſes was the raw and unconcocted juice extracted from the cane, and from which ſugar was afterwards made by boiling!" *(k)*

On the ſubject of the ſlave-trade, and its concomitant circumſtances, ſo much has been ſaid of late by others, that it may be ſuppoſed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account, both of the trade and the ſituation of the enſlaved negroes in the Britiſh colonies, differs very eſſentially from the repreſentations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but alſo by many of the witneſſes that were examined before the houſe of commons. The publick muſt judge between us, and I ſhould be in no pain about the reſult, if the characters of ſome of thoſe perſons who have ſtood forth on this occaſion as accuſers of the reſident planters, were as well known in Great Britain, as they are in the Weſt Indies. What I have written on theſe ſubjects has at leaſt this advantage, that great part of my obſervations are founded on perſonal knowledge and actual ex-

*(k)* I give this anecdote on the authority of a Jamaica gentleman who was preſent; a perſon of undoubted veracity.

perience:

perience: and with regard to the manners and difpofitions of the native Africans, as diftinguifhed by national habits, and characteriftick features, I venture to think, that my remarks will be found both new and interefting.

After all, my firft object has been truth, not novelty. I have endeavoured to collect ufeful knowledge wherefoever it lay, and when I found books that fupplied what I fought, I have fometimes been content to adopt, without alteration, what was thus furnifhed to my hands. Thus, extracts and paffages from former writers occupy fome of my pages; and not having always been careful to note the authorities to which I reforted, I find it now too late to afcertain the full extent of my obligations of this kind. They may be traced moft frequently, I believe, in the firft and laft parts of my work: In the firft, becaufe, when I began my tafk, I had lefs confidence in my own refources than I found afterwards, when practice had rendered writing familiar to me; and in the laft, becaufe, when my labours grew near to a conclufion, I became weary, and was glad to get affiftance wherefoever it offered.

From *living* rather than from *written* information, however, have I generally fought affiftance, when my own refources have proved deficient; and it is my good fortune to boaft an acquaintance with men, to whom, for local and commercial knowledge, our ftatefmen and fenators might refort, with credit to themfelves and advantage to the publick. On this occafion, neither the grati-

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tude which I owe for favours beſtowed, nor the pride which I feel from the honour of his friendſhip, will allow me to conceal the name of Edward Long, Eſquire, the author of the Jamaica Hiſtory, to whom I am firſt and principally indebted; and who, with the liberality which always accompanies true genius, has been as careful to correct my errors, and aſſiduous to ſupply my defects, as if his own well-earned reputation had depended on the iſſue.

For great part of the materials which compoſe the Hiſtory of Grenada, I am under obligations to Thomas Campbell, Eſquire, formerly ſpeaker of the aſſembly of that iſland, who, through means of a friend, furniſhed ſuch anſwers to queries that I ſent him, as encourage me to preſent that portion of my work to the publick with a confidence which I dare not aſſume in my account of ſome other of the iſlands. Yet, even with regard to moſt of theſe, I have no cauſe to complain that aſſiſtance has been oftentimes denied me. Concerning Barbadoes and Saint Chriſtopher's in particular, I have been favoured with much accurate and acceptable information, by John Braithwaite and Alexander Douglas, Eſquires, gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with the concerns of thoſe colonies; and the polite and cheerful readineſs with which they ſatisfied my enquiries, entitle them to this publick teſtimony of my thanks.

The ſame tribute is moſt juſtly due to Benjamin Vaughan and George Hibbert, Eſquires, merchants of London, for many excellent and important remarks,

marks, and much valuable matter; which, at length, have enabled me to look back on the commercial disquisitions in the last book, with a degree of satisfaction that at one period I despaired of obtaining; being well apprized that this part of my work will, on many accounts, be most obnoxious to criticism. That it is now rendered free from mistakes, I do not indeed pretend. In all researches of a political and commercial nature, the best authorities are sometimes fallible; and there is frequently much difference both in general opinion and particular computation between those who are equally solicitous for the discovery of truth. The facts, however, that I have collected cannot fail to be of use, whether the conclusions I have drawn from them be well founded or not.

I MIGHT here close this introductory discourse, and leave my book to the candour of my readers; but having made my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have given me their kind assistance in the compilation of it; and feeling, in common with all the inhabitants of the British West Indies, a just sense of indignation at the malignant and unmerited aspersions which are daily and hourly thrown upon the planters, for supposed improper and inhuman treatment of their African labourers; I should ill acquit myself, as the historian of those colonies, if I omitted this opportunity of giving my testimony to the fulness of their gratitude, their honest pride and lively sensibility, at beholding, in a Son of their beloved Sovereign, the generous assertor of their rights, and the strenuous and able

able defender of their injured characters, and insulted honour! The condescending and unsolicited interposition of the Duke of Clarence on this occasion, is the more valuable, as, happily for the planters, it is founded on his Royal Highness's personal observation of their manners, and knowledge of their dispositions, acquired on the spot. Thus patronized and protected, while they treat with silent scorn and deserved contempt the base efforts of those persons who, without the least knowledge of the subject, assail them with obloquy and outrage, they find a dignified support, in the consciousness of their own innocence, even under the misguided zeal and unfavourable prepossessions of better men. It might indeed be hoped, for the interests of truth and humanity, that *such* men would now frankly acknowledge their error, and ingenuously own, that we have been most cruelly traduced, and ignominiously treated; or if this be too much to ask, we may at least expect that gentlemen of education and candour will no longer persist in affording countenance to the vulgar prejudices of the envious and illiberal, by giving currency to suggestions which *they* cannot possibly know to be true, and which *we* know to be false.

London, 1793.

# PREFACE

TO THE

## SECOND EDITION.

THE sale of a large impression of this Work, in little more than twelve months, having induced the Bookseller to publish a second edition, I have availed myself of the opportunity of correcting several errors which have crept into the first; but I have not found it necessary to enlarge my Book with any new matter of my own, worthy of mention. The only additions of importance are a few notes and illustrations, with which the kindness of friends has enabled me to supply some of my deficiences. I have thought it proper, however, in that part of the Sixth Book which treats of the commercial system, to insert a copy of the provisional bill presented to the House of Commons in March 1782, by the Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the purpose of reviving the beneficial intercourse that existed before the late American war, between the United States and the British Sugar Islands. This bill, through the influence of popular prejudice and other causes, was unfortunately lost. Had it passed into a law, it would probably have saved from the horrors of famine fifteen thousand unoffending Negroes,

Negroes, who miſerably periſhed (in Jamaica alone) from the ſad effects of the fatal reſtrictive ſyſtem which prevailed! The publication of this bill, therefore, is diſcharging a debt of juſtice to the Miniſter and myſelf: to Mr. PITT, becauſe it proves that his firſt ideas on this queſtion were founded on principles of ſound policy and humanity; to myſelf, becauſe it gives me an opportunity of ſhewing that the ſentiments which I have expreſſed on the ſame ſubject are juſtified by his high authority.

THIS is not a buſineſs of ſelfiſhneſs or faction; nor (like many of thoſe queſtions which are daily moved in Parliament merely to agitate and perplex government) can it be dimiſſed by a vote. It will come forward again and again, and haunt adminiſtration in a thouſand hideous ſhapes, until a more liberal policy ſhall take place; for no folly can poſſibly exceed the notion that any meaſures purſued by Great Britain will prevent the American States from having, *ſome time or other*, a commercial intercourſe with our Weſt Indian territories on their own terms. With a chain of coaſt of twenty degrees of latitude, poſſeſſing the fineſt harbours for the purpoſe in the world, all lying ſo near to the Sugar Colonies, and the track to Europe,—with a country abounding in every thing the Iſlands have occaſion for, and which they can obtain no where elſe;—all theſe circumſtances, neceſſarily and naturally lead to a commercial intercourſe between our Iſlands and the United States. It is true, we may

may ruin our Sugar Colonies, and ourfelves alfo, in the attempt to prevent it; but it is an experiment which God and Nature have marked out as impoffible to fucceed. The prefent reftraining fyftem is forbidding men to help each other: men who, by their neceffities, their climate and productions, are ftanding in perpetual need of mutual affiftance, and able to fupply it.

I WRITE with the freedom of Hiftory;—-for it is the caufe of humanity that I plead.—At the fame time there is not a man living who is more defirous than myfelf of teftifying, by every poffible means, the fenfibility and affection which are due to our gracious SOVEREIGN, for that paternal folicitude and munificent interpofition, in favour of his remoteft fubjects, to which it is owing that the Bread Fruit, and other valuable productions of the moft diftant regions, now flourifh in the Britifh Weft Indies. Thefe are indeed "imperial works, and worthy "kings." After feveral unfuccefsful attempts, the introduction of the Bread Fruit was happily accomplifhed, in January 1793, by the arrival at St. Vincent of his Majefty's fhip Providence, Captain WILLIAM BLIGH, and the Affiftant brig, Captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, from the South Seas; having on board many hundreds of thofe trees, and a vaft number of other choice and curious plants, in a very flourifhing condition; all which have been properly diftributed through the iflands of St. Vincent and Jamaica, and already afford the pleafing profpect that his Majefty's good-

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neſs will be felt to the moſt diſtant period *. The cultivation of theſe valuable exoticks will, without doubt, in a courſe of years, leſſen the dependence of the Sugar Iſlands on North America for food and neceſſaries; and not only ſupply ſubſiſtence for future generations, but probably furniſh freſh incitements to induſtry, new improvements in the arts, and new ſubjects of commerce!

THE Aſſembly of Jamaica, co-operating with the benevolent intentions of his Majeſty, have lately purchaſed the magnificent botanical garden of Mr. Eaſt †, and placed it on the publick eſtabliſhment, under the care of ſkilful gardeners, one of whom circumnavigated the globe with Captain BLIGH. I might therefore have conſiderably enlarged the *Hortus Eaſtenſis* annexed to the Third Volume of this Work, but the particulars did not come to my hands in

* Extract of a letter to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, from the Botanick gardener in Jamaica; dated December 1793.

"All the trees under my charge are thriving with the greateſt luxuriance. Some of the Bread Fruit are upwards of eleven feet high, with leaves thirty-ſix inches long; and my ſucceſs in cultivating them has exceeded my moſt ſanguine expectations. The Cinnamon Tree is become very common, and Mangoes are in ſuch plenty as to be planted in the negro-grounds. There are alſo ſeveral bearing trees of the Jaack or baſtard bread-fruit, which is exactly the ſame as the Nanka of Timor. We have one Nutmeg Plant, which is rather ſickly, &c. &c."

† On the death of HINTON EAST, Eſq. the founder of the botanick garden, it became the property of his nephew, EDWARD HYDE EAST, Eſq, barriſter at law, and member of parliament for Great Bedwin, who with great generoſity offered it to the Aſſembly of Jamaica, for the uſe of the publick, at their own price.

in time. However, that the lovers of natural hiſtory may not be wholly diſappointed, I ſhall ſubjoin to this Preface a Catalogue of the more rare and valuable exoticks which now flouriſh in Jamaica. The preſent improved ſtate of botany in that iſland will thus be ſeen at one view.

In contemplating this diſplay of induſtry and ſcience, and offering the tribute of grateful veneration to that Sovereign under whoſe royal patronage and bounty ſo many valuable productions have been conveyed in a growing ſtate from one extremity of the world to the other, it is impoſſible that the inhabitants of the Britiſh Weſt Indies can forget how much alſo is due to Sir Joseph Banks, the Preſident of the Royal Society; by whoſe warm and unwearied exertions the ſecond voyage to the South Seas was determined on, after the firſt had proved abortive. Among all the labours of life, if there is one purſuit more replete than any other with benevolence, more likely to add comforts to exiſting people, and even to augment their numbers by augmenting their means of ſubſiſtence, it is certainly that of ſpreading abroad the bounties of creation, by tranſplanting from one part of the globe to another ſuch natural productions as are likely to prove beneficial to the intereſts of humanity. In this generous effort, Sir Joseph Banks has employed a conſiderable part of his time, attention, and fortune; and the ſucceſs which in many caſes, has crowned his endeavours, will be felt in the enjoyments, and rewarded by the bleſſings, of poſterity.

On the whole, the introduction of the Bread Fruit and other plants from the South Sea Iſlands—

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the munificence difplayed by HIS MAJESTY in caufing the voyage to be undertaken by which it was finally accomplifhed—the liberality and judgment of thofe who advifed it—and the care and attention manifefted by thofe who were more immediately entrufted with the conduct of it, are circumftances that claim a diftinguifhed place, and conftitute an important era, in the Hiftory of the Britifh Weft Indies!

HAVING faid thus much in honour of my countrymen, it is but juftice to obferve, that the French nation (whilft a government exifted among them) began to manifeft a noble fpirit of emulation in the fame liberal purfuit. It is to the induftry of the French that Jamaica (as will be feen in the Hiftory of that Ifland) owes the Cinnamon, the Mango, and fome other delicious Spices and Fruits. Among other branches of the vegetable kingdom, introduced by them into their Weft Indian poffeffions, they reckoned three different fpecies of the Sugar Cane, all of which were previoufly unknown to the planters and inhabitants. I have, in the Second volume of this edition, obferved, that Sir JOSEPH BANKS had fatisfied me that fuch varieties did exift; but I was not then apprized that their cultivation had been fuccefsfully attempted in any of our own iflands. By the kindnefs of Admiral Sir JOHN LAFOREY, Baronet, I am now enabled to gratify my readers with fuch full and authentick information on this fubject, as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to every inhabitant of the Weft Indies.

These Canes were originally introduced into Martinico; and it was a fortunate circumftance that the diftinguifhed officer whom I have named commanded about that time on the naval ftation at Antigua. It was equally fortunate that, with a love of natural knowledge, he poffeffed plantations in the Ifland laft-mentioned; for it is extremely probable, from the difturbances and diftractions which have prevailed ever fince in every one of the French Colonies, that there would not at this time have been found a trace of thefe plants in any part of the Weft Indies, if Sir John Laforey had not perfonally attended to their prefervation. With the account which his politenefs has enabled me to prefent to the Publick, I fhall conclude this Introductory Difcourfe.

*Remarks on the* East India *and other* CANES *imported into the French Charaibean Iflands, and lately introduced into the Ifland of* Antigua, *by Sir* John Laforey, Bart.

" One fort was brought from the Ifland of Bourbon, reported by the French to be the growth of the coaft of Malabar.

" Another fort from the ifland of Otaheite.

" Another fort from Batavia.

" The two former are much alike, both in their appearance and growth, but that of Otaheite is faid to make the fineft fugar. They are much larger than thofe of our Iflands, the joints of fome meafuring eight or nine inches long, and fix in circumference.

" Their

"Their colour, and that of their leaves alſo, differs from ours, being of a pale green; their leaves broader, their points falling towards the ground as they grow out, inſtead of being erect like thoſe of our Iſlands. Their juice alſo, when expreſſed, differs from that of our Canes; being of a very pale, inſtead of a deep green colour. I cauſed one of the largeſt of theſe Canes to be cut, at what I deemed its full growth, and likewiſe one of the largeſt of the Iſland Canes that could be found upon each of three other plantations. When they were properly trimmed for grinding, I had them weighed: the Malabar Canes weighed upwards of ſeven pounds; neither of the other three exceeded four pounds and a quarter.

"They are ripe enough to grind at the age of ten months; a few cut for a trial by my manager, above twelve months old, were judged to have loſt part of their juices, by ſtanding too long.

"They appear to ſtand the dry weather better than ours; I obſerved, that after a drought of a long continuance, when the leaves of our own Canes began to turn brown at their points, theſe continued their colour throughout.

"A gentleman of Montſerrat had ſome plants given to him by Monſieur Pinnel, one of the moſt conſiderable planters of Guadaloupe, who told him he had, in the preceding year (1792) in which an exceeding great drought had prevailed, planted amongſt a large field of the Iſland Canes half an acre of theſe; that the want of rain, and the *borer*, had damaged the former ſo much, that he could not make ſugar from them, but the latter had produced him three hogſheads.

"In

"In the ſpring of this year (1794) a trial was made of the Malabar Canes, on one of my plantations; 160 bunches from holes of five feet ſquare were cut, they produced upwards of 350 lbs. of very good ſugar; the juice came into ſugar in the teache, in much leſs time than is uſually required for that of the other Canes, and threw up very little ſcum. The produce was in the proportion of 3,500 lbs. to an acre; the weather had then been ſo very dry, and the *borer* ſo deſtructive, that I am ſure no one part of that plantation would have yielded above half that quantity from the other Canes, in the ſame ſpace of ground. We had not then the benefit of the new-invented clarifiers, which, though imported, had not been fixed up for want of time.

"The French complain that theſe Canes do not yield a ſufficient quantity of field traſh, to boil the juice into ſugar; to this, and to their never throwing up an arrow, I think their ſuperior ſize may in good meaſure be attributed. This inconvenience may be obviated, by the ſubſtitution of coals; and the increaſed quantity of the cane-traſh, which their magnitude will furniſh (and which we reckon the richeſt manure we have, when properly prepared) will well indemnify the expence of firing.

"The Batavia Canes are a deep purple on the outſide; they grow ſhort-jointed, and ſmall in circumference, but bunch exceedingly, and vegetate ſo quick, that they ſpring up from the plant in one-third the time thoſe of our Iſland do; the joints, ſoon after they form, all burſt longitudinally. They have the appearance of being very hardy, and bear dry weather

weather well; a few bunches were cut and made into ſugar at the ſame time the experiment was made with the white Canes. The report made to me of them was, that they yielded a great deal of juice, which ſeemed richer than that of the others, but the ſugar was ſtrongly tinged with the colour of the rind; and it was obſerved, that upon the expreſſion of them at the mill, the juice was of a bright purple; but by the time it had reached through the ſpout to the clarifier (a very ſhort diſtance) it became of a dingy iron colour. I am told the Batavia ſugar imported into Amſterdam is very fair; ſo that if thoſe Canes ſhould otherwiſe anſwer well, means may doubtleſs be obtained to diſcharge the purple tinge from their juice."

London, 1794.

THE

# HISTORY,

*CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,*

OF

## The British Colonies in the West Indies.

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## BOOK I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT STATE AND INHABITANTS.

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### CHAP. I.

*Geographical arrangement.—Name.—Climate.—Sea-breeze, and Land-wind.—Beauty and singularity of the vegetable and animal creation.—Magnificence and sublimity of the mountains: reflections concerning the origin of these islands, &c.*

GEOGRAPHERS, following the distribution of Nature, divide the vast Continent of America into two great parts, North and South; the narrow but mountainous Isthmus of Darien serving as a link to connect them together, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantick on the one side, and

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and of the Pacifick Ocean on the other. These great Oceans were anciently diſtinguiſhed alſo, from their relative ſituation, by the names of the North and South Seas *(a)*.

Name.

To that prodigious chain of Iſlands which extend in a curve from the Florida Shore on the Northern Peninſula, to the Gulph of Venezuela in the Southern, is given the denomination of *Weſt Indies*, from the name of India originally aſſigned to them by Columbus. This illuſtrious Navigator planned his expedition, not, as Raynal and others have ſuppoſed, under the idea of introducing a New World to the knowledge of the Old; but, principally, in the view of finding a route to India by a Weſtern navigation; which he was led to think would prove leſs tedious than by the Coaſt of Africa: and this concluſion would have been juſt, if the geography of the Ancients, on which it was founded, had been accurate *(b)*. Indeed, ſo firmly perſuaded was Columbus

*(a)* The appellation of *North*, applied to that part of the Atlantick which flows into the Gulph of Darien, ſeems now to be entirely diſuſed; but the Pacifick is ſtill commonly called the *South* Sea. It was diſcovered in 1513.

*(b)* "The ſpherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method ſtill in uſe, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator contained 360 degrees; theſe they divided into twenty-four parts,

Columbus of its truth and certainty, that he continued to affe- his belief of it after the difcovery of Cuba and Hifpaniola; not doubting that thofe iflands conftituted fome part of the Eaftern extremity of Afia: and the nations of Europe, fatisfied with fuch authority, concurred in the fame idea. Even when the difcovery of the Pacifick Ocean had demonftrated his miftake, all the countries which Columbus had vifited ftill retained the name of the Indies; and in contradiftinction to thofe at which the Portuguefe, after paffing the Cape of Good Hope, had at length arrived by an Eaftern

parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the *Seres* or *Sinæ* being the fartheft part of India known to the Ancients, was fuppofed, by Marinus Tyrius, the moft eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or 225 degrees to the eaft of the firft meridian, paffing through the Fortunate Iflands. If this fuppofition was well founded, the country of the Seres, or China, was only nine hours, or 135 degrees weft from the Fortunate or Canary Iflands; and the navigation in that direction was much fhorter than by the courfe which the Portuguefe were purfuing." From this account, for which the reader is indebted to the learned Dr. Robertfon, it is evident that the fcheme of Columbus was founded on rational fyftematical principles, according to the light which his age afforded; whereas if he had propofed, without any fuch fupport, to difcover a new hemifphere by failing weftward; he would have been juftly confidered as an arrogant and chimerical projector, and fuccefs itfelf would not have reconciled his temerity to the fober dictates of reafon.

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course, they were now denominated the *Indies of the West* (c).

Among the Geographers of those days, however, there were some, who, envying the glory of Columbus, or giving more credit to ancient fable than to the achievements of their cotemporaries, persisted in assigning to the newly-discovered Islands the appellation of *Antilia* or *Antiles*: the name (according to Charlevoix) of an imaginary country, placed in ancient charts about two hundred leagues to the Westward of the Azores; and it is a name still very generally used by foreign Navigators, although the etymology of the word is as uncertain as the application of it is unjust. To the British nation the name bestowed by Columbus is abundantly more familiar: and thus the whole of the New Hemisphere is, with us, commonly comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West Indies (d).

But,

(c) Columbus sailed on his first voyage the 3d of August, 1492. In 1494 Bartholemus Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vasquez de Gama succeeded (for the first time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then supposed, formidable attempt.

(d) The term *Antiles* is applied by Hoffman to the Windward or Charaibean Islands only, and is by him thus accounted for: "Dicuntur Antilæ Americæ quasi *ante* Insulas Americæ, nempe *ante majores Insulas Sinûs Mexicani.*" (Hoffman

But, ſubordinate to this comprehenſive and ſimple arrangement, neceſſity or convenience has introduced more minute and local diſtinctions. That portion of the Atlantick, which is ſeparated from the main Ocean to the North and to the Eaſt, by the Iſlands I have mentioned, although commonly known by the general appellation of the Mexican Gulph, is itſelf properly ſubdivided into three diſtinct Baſins: the Gulph of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and the Charaibean Sea *(e)*. The latter takes its

*man Lexic. Univ.)* Rochfort and Du Tertre explain the word nearly in the ſame manner, while Monſ. D'Anville applies the name to thoſe iſlands only, which are more immediately *oppoſed to*, or ſituated *againſt*, the Continent: thus he terms Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, *the Great Antiles*, and the ſmall Iſlands of Aruba, Curaçoa, Bonair, Magaritta, and ſome others near the coaſt of Caraccas on the Southern Peninſula, *the Leſs*; excluding the Charaibean Iſlands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spaniſh Hiſtorians would have demonſtrated to all theſe writers, that the word *Antilia* was applied to Hiſpaniola and Cuba, before the diſcovery either of the Windward Iſlands, or any part of the American Continent. This appears from the following paſſage in the Firſt Book of the Firſt Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the Court of Spain, November 1493, eight months only after Columbus's return from his firſt expedition; "Ophiram Inſulam ſeſe reperiſſe refert: ſed Coſmographorum tractu diligenter conſiderato, *Antiliæ* Inſulæ ſunt illæ et adjacentes aliæ: hanc Hiſpaniolam appellavit, &c."

*(e)* Vide Introduction to the Weſt Indian Atlas, by Jefferies.

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name from that claſs of Iſlands which bound this part of the Ocean to the Eaſt. Moſt of theſe were anciently poſſeſſed by a nation of Cannibals, the ſcourge and terror of the mild and inoffenſive natives of Hiſpaniola, who frequently expreſſed to Columbus their dread of thoſe fierce and warlike invaders, ſtiling them Charaibes or Caribbees *(f)*. And it was in conſequence of this information, that the Iſlands to which theſe ſavages belonged, when diſcovered afterwards by Columbus, were by him denominated generally the Charaibean Iſlands.

Of this claſs, however, a group nearly adjoining to the Eaſtern ſide of St. John de Porto Rico, is likewiſe called the Virgin Iſles; a diſtinction of which the origin will be explained in its place *(g)*.

*(f)* Herrera, lib. i. Fer. Columbus, chap. xxxiii.

*(g)* It may be proper to obſerve, that the old Spaniſh Navigators, in ſpeaking of the Weſt Indian Iſlands in general, frequently diſtinguiſh them alſo into two claſſes, by the terms *Barlovento* and *Sotavento*, from whence our *Windward* and *Leeward* Iſlands; the Charaibean conſtituting in ſtrict propriety the former claſs (and as ſuch I ſhall ſpeak of them in the courſe of this work), and the four large Iſlands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our Engliſh mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean Iſlands only, ſubdividing them according to their ſituation in the courſe of the trade wind; the Windward Iſlands by their arrangement terminating, I believe, with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

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NEITHER muſt it paſs unobſerved, that the name of Bahama is commonly applied by the Engliſh to that cluſter of ſmall iſlands, rocks, and reefs of ſand, which ſtretch in a north-weſterly direction for the ſpace of near three hundred leagues, from the Northern coaſt of Hiſpaniola to the Bahama Strait, oppoſite the Florida Shore. Whether this appellation is of Indian origin, as commonly ſuppoſed, is a queſtion I cannot anſwer; neither does it merit very anxious inveſtigation: yet theſe little iſlands have deſervedly a claim to particular notice; for it was one of them *(h)* that had the honour of firſt receiving Columbus, after a voyage the moſt bold and magnificent in deſign, and the moſt important in its conſequences, of any that the mind of man has conceived, or national adventure undertaken, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour.

Climate.

MOST of the countries of which I propoſe to treat being ſituated beneath the tropick of Cancer, the circumſtances of climate, as well in regard to general heat, as to the periodical rains and conſequent variation of ſeaſons, are nearly the ſame throughout the whole. The tempe-

*(h)* Called by the Indians Guanahani, by the Spaniards St. Salvadore, and is known to Engliſh ſeamen by the name of Cat Iſland. The whole group is called by the Spaniards Lucayos.

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rature of the air varies indeed conſiderably according to the elevation of the land; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the ſame in all the countries of this part of the globe.

A TROPICAL year ſeems properly to comprehend but two diſtinct ſeaſons; the *wet* and the *dry*; but as the rains in theſe climates conſtitute two great periods, I ſhall deſcribe it, like the European year, under four diviſions.

THE vernal ſeaſon, or Spring, may be ſaid to commence with the month of May, when the foliage of the trees evidently becomes more vivid, and the parched ſavannas begin to change their ruſſet hue, even previous to the firſt periodical rains, which are now daily expected, and generally ſet in about the middle of the month. Theſe, compared with the Autumnal rains, may be ſaid to be gentle ſhowers. They come from the South, and commonly fall every day about noon, and break up with thunder-ſtorms; creating a bright and beautiful verdure, and a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. The thermometer at this ſeaſon varies conſiderably; commonly falling ſix or eight degrees immediately after the diurnal rains: its medium height may be ſtated at 75°.

AFTER theſe rains have continued about a fortnight, the weather becomes dry, ſettled, and ſalutary;

ſalutary; and the tropical Summer reigns in full glory. Not a cloud is to be perceived; and the ſky blazes with irreſiſtible fierceneſs. For ſome hours, commonly between ſeven and ten in the morning, before the ſetting in of the ſea-breeze or trade-wind, which at this ſeaſon blows from the ſouth-eaſt with great force and regularity until late in the evening, the heat is ſcarcely ſupportable; but, no ſooner is the influence felt of this refreſhing wind, than all Nature revives, and the climate, in the ſhade, becomes not only very tolerable, but pleaſant. The thermometer now varies but little in the whole twenty-four hours: its medium, near the coaſt, may be ſtated at about 80°. I have ſeldom obſerved it higher than 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at ſun-riſe *.

The nights at this ſeaſon are tranſcendently beautiful. The clearneſs and brilliancy of the heavens, the ſerenity of the air, and the ſoft tranquillity in which Nature repoſes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the moſt

* Mr. Long, in his hiſtory of Jamaica, juſtly obſerves, that "it is not merely a high degree of heat which renders a climate unwholeſome, but the ſudden change from great heat to (comparatively) great coolneſs, and *vice verſâ*." Such tranſitions frequently occur in the ſouthern provinces of North America. In Virginia, Mr. Jefferſon relates, that the mercury in Farenheit's thermometer has been known to deſcend from 92° to 47° in thirteen hours. The Weſt India Iſlands are happily exempt from thoſe noxious variations.

calm

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THIS ſtate of the weather commonly continues, with little variation, from the beginning of June until the middle of Auguſt, when the diurnal breeze begins to intermit, and the atmoſphere becomes ſultry, incommodious and ſuffocating. In the latter end of this month, and moſt part of September, we look about in vain for coolneſs and comfort. The thermometer occaſionally exceeds 90°, and inſtead of a ſteady and refreſhing wind from the ſea, there

*(i)* In the mountainous and interior parts of the larger iſlands, innumerable *fire-flies* abound at night, which have a ſurpriſing appearance to a ſtranger. They conſiſt of different ſpecies, ſome of which emit a light, reſembling a ſpark of fire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their ſides in the act of reſpiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all ſides, like ſo many living ſtars, to the great aſtoniſhment and admiration of a traveller unaccuſtomed to the country.—In the day-time they diſappear.

are

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are uſually faint breezes and calms alternately. Theſe are preludes to the ſecond periodical, or Autumnal, ſeaſon. Large towering clouds, fleecy and of a reddiſh hue, are now ſeen, in the morning, in the quarters of the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt; the tops of the mountains at the ſame time appear clear of clouds, and the objects upon them wear a blueiſh caſt, and ſeem much nearer to the ſpectator than uſual. When theſe vaſt accumulations of vapour have riſen to a conſiderable height in the atmoſphere, they commonly move horizontally towards the mountains, proclaiming their progreſs in deep and rolling thunder, which, reverberated from peak to peak, and anſwered by the diſtant roaring of the ſea, heightens the majeſty of the ſcene, and irreſiſtibly lifts up the mind of the ſpectator to the great Author of all ſublimity *.

The waters, however, with which theſe congregated vapours load the atmoſphere, ſeldom fall with great and general force until the beginning of October. It is then that the heavens pour down cataracts. An European who has

* The thunder generally ceaſes towards the evening, but, as the night ſets in, the eye is irreſiſtibly attracted towards the mountains by the diſtant lightening, which iſſues from the clouds in ten thouſand brilliant coruſcations, and plays harmleſsly along the ſummits of the mountains in various fantaſtick ſhapes. It is ſaid that the *Aurora Borealis* is never ſeen in the Weſt Indies; but I have beheld lunar rainbows frequently.

not

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not viſited theſe climates, can form no juſt conception of the quantity of water which deluges the earth at this ſeaſon: by an exact account which was kept of the rain which fell in one year in Barbadoes (1754) it appeared to have been $87\frac{1}{100}$ cubic inches, equal to 7 feet $3\frac{1}{100}$ inches perpendicular *.

It is now, in the interval between the beginning of Auguſt and the latter end of October, that hurricanes, thoſe dreadful viſitations of the Almighty, are apprehended. The prognoſticks of theſe elementary conflicts, have been minutely deſcribed by various writers, and their effects are known by late mournful experience to every inhabitant of every iſland within the tropicks, but their immediate cauſe ſeems to lie far beyond the limits of our circumſcribed knowledge †.

TOWARDS

* Taking the whole iſlands throughout, from ſixty to ſixty-five inches appear to be about the medium of rain in ſeaſonable years. If this quantity ſhould annually fall in England, the country would be deluged, and the fruits of the earth deſtroyed. The power of the ſun, at that diſtance from the equator, would be too feeble to exhale a ſufficient quantity of it. On the other hand, if ſo ſmall a portion as 21 inches only, ſhould fall in the whole year at Barbadoes or Jamaica, where the exhalation by the ſun and the ſea-breeze is ſo great, the ſprings and rivers would probably be dried up, and the inhabitants periſh by thirſt and famine.

† Earthquakes alſo are not unfrequent; but none have been productive of miſchief ſince the fatal one of June 1692,

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Towards the end of November, or ſometimes not till the middle of December, a conſiderable change in the temperature of the air is perceivable. The coaſts to the northward are now beaten by a rough and heavy ſea, roaring with inceſſant noiſe; the wind varies from the eaſt to the north-eaſt and north, ſometimes driving before it, acroſs the higheſt mountains, not only heavy rains but hail; till at length, the north wind having acquired ſufficient force, the atmoſphere is cleared; and now comes on a ſucceſſion of ſerene and pleaſant weather, the north-eaſt and northerly winds ſpreading coolneſs and delight throughout the whole of this burning region.

If this interval, therefore, from the beginning of December to the end of April, be called winter, it is certainly the fineſt winter on the globe. To valetudinarians and perſons advanced in life, it is the climate of Paradiſe.

1692, which ſwallowed up Port Royal. Slight ſhocks are felt in Jamaica I believe every year, generally about the month of June, immediately after the May rains. If I might venture into the regions of conjecture, I ſhould impute theſe little concuſſions ſolely to changes in the atmoſphere, and rather call them *air-quakes* than *earthquakes*: they are however very terrifying. During the Autumnal rains the climate is very ſickly, and the four laſt months of the year commonly prove fatal to a great many of the old inhabitants, but more eſpecially to perſons of a full habit newly arrived from Europe, and ſeafaring people.

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THE account which I have thus given is, however, to be received not as uniformly exact and minutely particular; but as a general representation only, subject to many variations and exceptions. In the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, whose lofty mountains are clothed with forests perhaps as old as the deluge, the rains are much more frequent and violent than in the small islands to windward; some of which are without mountains, and others without wood; both powerful agents on the atmosphere. In the interior and elevated districts of the three former islands, I believe there are showers in every month of the year; and on the northern coasts of those islands, considerable rains are expected in December or January, soon after the setting in of the north winds.

Winds.

CONCERNING the trade-wind, or diurnal sea-breeze, which blows in these climates from the east, and its collateral points, with little intermission or variation nine months in the year, the causes of it having been traced and displayed by numerous writers, it is unnecessary for me to treat; but the peculiarity of the land-wind by night (than which nothing can be more grateful and refreshing) has been less generally noticed. This is an advantage, among others, which the larger islands of the West Indies derive from the great inequality of their surface; for as

ſoon as the ſea-breeze dies away, the hot air of the plains being rarefied, aſcends towards the tops of the mountains, and is there condenſed by the cold; which making it ſpecifically heavier than it was before, it deſcends back to the plains on both ſides of the ridge. Hence a night-wind is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all ſides from the land towards the ſhore, ſo that on a north ſhore the wind ſhall come from the ſouth, and on the ſouth ſhore from the north. Agreeably to this hypotheſis, it is obſervable that in the iſlands to windward, where they have no mountains, they have no land-breeze *(k)*.

General appearance.

Of the general appearance of a diſtant country, and the ſcenery with which it is clothed, it is difficult, by mere verbal deſcription, to convey an idea. To the firſt diſcoverers, the proſpect of theſe iſlands muſt have been intereſting beyond all that imagination can at preſent conceive. Even at this day, when the mind is prepared

*(k)* The account thus given of the land-wind, is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whoſe deſcription is ſo preciſe and accurate as to admit of no improvement. In Barbadoes, and moſt of the ſmall iſlands to windward, the ſea-breeze blows as well by night as by day. It is ſometimes the caſe in Jamaica in the months of June and July, the land at that time being heated to ſuch a degree, that the cold air of the mountains is not ſufficiently denſe to check the current which flows from the ſea.

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and expectation awakened by antecedent accounts, they are beheld by the voyager for the first time, with strong emotions of admiration and pleasure; arising not only from the novelty of the scene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose lofty mountains form a stupendous and awful picture; the subject both of wonder and contemplation *(l)*.

NOR

*(l)* To the first voyagers to the West Indies, many must have been the objects of astonishment, and in some respects of terror, even before the appearance of land; such as the variation of the compass, the regularity of the winds, the water-spout, and other phænomena; of the existence of which they were previously unapprized. It is in such cases that terror exerts its power over the mind with uncontroulable ascendancy; for reason and reflection can furnish no argument to oppose to its progress. Columbus in truth found himself amidst a new creation. What, for instance, could have more strongly excited curiosity than the first sight of that wonderful little animal *the flying fish?* Who would have believed that the natives of the deep had power to quit their watery element, and fly aloft with the birds of the air! It was an era of miracles, and considering the propensity of mankind to magnify what truly is strange, the modesty displayed by Columbus in speaking of his enterprises and discoveries, and the strict adherence to truth which he appears on all occasions to have manifested, form a very distinguishing feature in his character. In general the travellers of those days not only reported wonderful things which never existed, but sometimes even really believed what they reported. In 1512 John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard of distinction (as we are informed by Herrera) actually took a voyage

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Nor did these promising territories disappoint expectation on a nearer search and more accurate inspection. Columbus, whose veracity has never been suspected, speaks of their beauty and fertility in terms of the highest admiration: "There "is a river (he observes in one of his letters to "King Ferdinand written from Cuba) which "discharges itself into the harbour that I have "named Porto Santo, of sufficient depth to be "navigable. I had the curiosity to sound it, "and found it eight fathom. Yet the water is "so limpid, that I can easily discern the sand at "the bottom. The banks of this river are embellished with lofty palm-trees, whose shade "gives a delicious freshness to the air; and the "birds and the flowers are uncommon and beau-"tiful. I was so delighted with the scene, that "I had almost come to the resolution of staying "here the remainder of my days; for believe

voyage to Florida for the purpose of bathing in the River *Bimini*, which he had been told and believed would restore him to youth, like the cauldron of Medea. If we laugh at the credulity of this old man, what shall we say to our own learned countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who sixty years afterwards, in the history of his voyage to Guiana, gives an account of a nation *who were born without heads, and whose eyes were placed in their shoulders*. Raleigh does not indeed pretend that he had seen any of these strange people himself, but he repeats what he had heard from others with a gravity and solemnity which evince that he seriously believed their existence. See his account of Guiana in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii.

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"me, Sire, theſe countries far ſurpaſs all the "reſt of the world in beauty and conveniency; "and I have frequently obſerved to my people, "that, with all my endeavours to convey to "your Majeſty an adequate idea of the charm- "ing objects which continually preſent them- "ſelves to our view, the deſcription will fall "greatly ſhort of the reality."

How ill informed, or prejudiced, are thoſe writers, therefore, who, affecting to diſbelieve, or endeavouring to palliate, the enormities of the Spaniſh invaders, repreſent theſe once delightful ſpots, when firſt diſcovered by Columbus, to have been ſo many impenetrable and unhealthy deſerts! It is true, that after the Spaniards, in the courſe of a few bloody years, had extermi- nated the ancient and rightful poſſeſſors, the earth, left to its own natural fertility, beneath the influence of a tropical ſun, teemed with noxious vegetation. Then, indeed, the faireſt of theſe iſlands became ſo many frightful ſolitudes; impervious and unwholeſome. Such was the condition of Jamaica when wreſted from the Spaniſh Crown in 1655, and ſuch is the condi- tion of great part of Cuba and Porto Rico at this day: for the infinitely wiſe and benevolent Governor of the univerſe, to compel the exer- tion of thoſe faculties which he has given us, has ordained, that by human cultivation alone, the

the earth becomes the proper habitation of man *(m)*.

But as the Weſt Indian Iſlands in their ancient ſtate were not without culture, ſo neither were they generally noxious to health. The plains or ſavannas were regularly ſown, twice in the year, with that ſpecies of grain which is now well known in Europe by the name of Turkey Wheat. It was called by the Indians Mahez, or Maize, a name it ſtill bears in all the Iſlands, and does not require very laborious cultivation. This however conſtituted but a part only, and not the moſt conſiderable part, of the vegetable food of the natives. As theſe countries were at the ſame time extremely populous, both the hills and the vallies (of the ſmaller iſlands eſpecially) were neceſſarily cleared of underwood, and the trees which remained afforded a ſhade that was cool, airy, and delicious. Of theſe trees ſome, as

*(m)* Dr. Lind, in his "Eſſay on the Diſeaſes of Hot Climates," has preſerved an extract from the Journal of an Officer who ſailed up a river on the coaſt of Guinea, which affords a ſtriking illuſtration of this remark: "We were (ſays the Officer) thirty miles diſtant from the ſea, in a country altogether uncultivated, overflowed with water—ſurrounded with thick impenetrable woods, and overrun with ſlime. The air was ſo vitiated, noiſome and thick, that *our torches and candles burnt dim, and ſeemed ready to be extinguiſhed; and even the human voice loſt its natural tone.*" Part I. p. 64.

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the papaw and palmeto *(n)*, are, without doubt, the moſt graceful of all the vegetable creation. Others continue to bud, bloſſom, and bear fruit throughout the year. Nor is it undeſerving notice, that the foliage of the moſt part ſpringing only from the ſummit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-ſpreading branches, cloſely but elegantly arranged, every grove is an aſſemblage

*(n)* The ſpecies here meant (for there are ſeveral) is the palmeto-royal, or mountain-cabbage, ſo called becauſe the upper part of the trunk is ſometimes eaten, and ſuppoſed to reſemble the European cabbage in flavour. Ligon mentions ſome, at the firſt ſettlement of Barbadoes, about 200 feet in height; but Mr. Hughes obſerves, that the higheſt in his time, in that iſland, was 134 feet. I am inclined to believe, that I have ſeen them in Jamaica upwards of 150 feet in height; but it is impoſſible to ſpeak with certainty without an actual meaſurement. " Neither the tall cedars of Lebanon (ſays Hughes) nor any trees of the foreſt, are equal to it in height, beauty, or proportion; ſo that it claims among vegetables, that ſuperiority which Virgil gives to Rome among the cities of Italy:

*Verum hæc tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,*
*Quantum lenta ſolent inter viburna cupreſſi.*"

The upper part of the trunk, from whence the foliage ſprings, reſembles a well-turned finely poliſhed baluſter, of a lively green colour, gently ſwelling from its pedeſtal, and diminiſhing gradually to the top, where it expands into branches waving like plumes of oſtrich feathers. From the center of the ſummit riſes the *ſpatha* or ſheath, terminating in an acute point. The trunk itſelf is not leſs graceful; being a ſtraight, ſmooth, ſlightly annulated column, large at the baſe, and tapering from thence to the inſertion of the baluſter or cabbage.

blage of majeſtick columns, ſupporting a verdant canopy, and excluding the ſun, without impeding the circulation of the air. Thus the ſhade, at all times impervious to the blaze, and refreſhed by the diurnal breeze, affords, not merely a refuge from occaſional inconveniency, but a moſt wholeſome and delightful retreat and habitation.

SUCH were theſe orchards of the Sun, and woods of perennial verdure; of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and leſs vigorous ſoil of Europe; for what is the oak compared to the cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk frequently meaſures from eighty to ninety feet from the baſe to the limbs? What European foreſt has ever given birth to a ſtem equal to that of the ceiba *(o)*, which alone, ſimply rendered concave, has been known to produce a boat capable of containing one hundred perſons? or the ſtill greater fig, the ſovereign of the vegetable creation,—itſelf a foreſt *(p)*?

THE

*(o)* The wild cotton tree.

*(p)* This monarch of the woods, whoſe empire extends over Aſia and Africa, as well as the tropical parts of America, is deſcribed by our divine Poet with great exactneſs:

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But ſuch as at this day to Indians known
In Malabar and Decan, ſpreads her arms,

 Branching

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THE majeſtick ſcenery of theſe gigantick groves was, at the ſame time, enlivened by the ſingular forms of ſome, and the ſurpriſing beauty of others of the inferior animals which poſſeſſed and peopled them. Although theſe will be more fully deſcribed in the ſequel, a few obſervations which at preſent occur to me, will, I hope, be forgiven. If it be true, as it hath been aſſerted, that in moſt of the regions of the torrid zone, the heat of the ſun is, as it were, reflected in the untameable fierceneſs of their wild beaſts, and in the exalted rage and venom of the numerous ſerpents with which they are infeſted, the Sovereign Diſpoſer of all things has regarded the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies with peculiar fa-

Branching ſo broad and long, that in the ground
The bearded twigs take root, and daughters grow
Above the mother tree, *a pillar'd ſhade,*
*High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between!*
Paradiſe Loſt, Book IX.

And with ſtill greater preciſion by *Quintus Curtius* (who, in this inſtance at leaſt, is not fabulous): *Sylvæ erant prope immenſum ſpatium diffuſæ, proceriſque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbroſæ. Plerique rami inſtar ingentium ſtipitum flexi in humum, rurſus, qua ſe curvaverunt erigebantur, adeo ut ſpecies eſſet non rami reſurgentis, ſed arboris ex ſua radice generatæ.* It is called in the Eaſt Indies the *banyan-tree.* Mr. Marſden gives the following Account of the dimenſions of one, near Manjee, twenty miles weſt of Patna in Bengal: Diameter, 363 to 375 feet; circumference of the ſhadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the ſeveral ſtems, in number fifty or ſixty, 921 feet. Hiſt. Sumatra, p. 131.

vour;

vour; inaſmuch as their ſerpents are wholly destitute of poiſon *(q)*, and they poſſeſs no animal of prey, to deſolate their vallies. The crocodile, or alligator, is indeed ſometimes diſcovered

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*(q)* I ſay this on the authority of Brown, Charlevoix, and Hughes (of whom the firſt compiled the Hiſtory of Jamaica, the ſecond that of Hiſpaniola, and the laſt that of Barbadoes) —on the teſtimony of many gentlemen who have reſided in ſeveral of the Windward Iſlands—and on my own experience during a reſidence of eighteen years in Jamaica. In that time I neither knew nor heard of any perſon being hurt from the bite of any one ſpecies of the numerous ſnakes or lizards known in that iſland. Some of the ſnakes I have myſelf handled with perfect ſecurity. I conclude, therefore, (notwithſtanding the contrary aſſertion of Du Tertre reſpecting Martinico and St. Lucia) that *all* the Iſlands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheleſs it muſt be admitted, that the circumſtance is extraordinary; inaſmuch as every part of the continent of America, but eſpecially thoſe provinces which lie under the Equator, abound in a high degree with ſerpents, whoſe bite is mortal.——Dr. Bancroft, in his Account of Guiana, gives a dreadful liſt of ſuch as are found in that extenſive country; and, in ſpeaking of one, of a ſpecies which he calls the ſmall *labarra*, makes mention of a negro who was unfortunately bit by it in the finger. The negro had but juſt time to kill the ſnake, when his limbs became unable to ſupport him, and he fell to the ground, and expired in leſs than five minutes.——Dr. Dancer, in his Hiſtory of the Expedition from Jamaica to Fort Juan on the Lake of Nicaragua, in 1780, which he attended as phyſician, relates the following circumſtance: A ſnake hanging from the bough of a tree bit one of the ſoldiers, as he paſſed along, juſt under the orbit of the left eye; from whence the poor man felt ſuch intenſe pain, that he was unable to proceed: and when a meſſenger was ſent to him a few hours afterwards, he

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vered on the banks of their rivers; but notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of its fierce and ſavage diſpoſition, I pronounce it, from my own knowledge, a cautious and timid creature, avoiding, with the utmoſt precipitation, the approach of man. The reſt of the lizard kind are perfectly innocent and inoffenſive. Some of them are even fond of human ſociety. They embelliſh our walks by their beauty, and court our attention by gentleneſs and frolick; but their kindneſs, I know not why, is returned by averſion and diſguſt. Anciently the woods of almoſt all the equatorial parts of America abounded with various tribes of the ſmaller monkey, a ſportive and ſagacious little creature, which the people of Europe ſeem likewiſe to have regarded with unmerited deteſtation; for they hunted them down with ſuch barbarous aſſiduity, that in ſeveral of the iſlands every ſpecies of them has been long ſince exterminated. Of the feathered race too, many tribes have now nearly deſerted thoſe ſhores where poliſhed man

he was found dead, with all the ſymptoms of putrefaction, a yellowneſs and ſwelling over his whole body; and the eye near to which he was bitten, wholly diſſolved. This circumſtance was confirmed to me by General Kemble, who commanded in chief on that expedition. It may not be uſeleſs to add, that thoſe ſerpents which are venomous are furniſhed with fangs ſomewhat reſembling the tuſks of a boar: they are moveable, and inſerted in the upper jaw.

delights in ſpreading univerſal and capricious deſtruction. Among theſe, one of the moſt remarkable was the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, nearly as large as the ſwan, and arrayed in plumage of the brighteſt ſcarlet. Numerous, however, are the feathered kinds, deſervedly diſtinguiſhed by their ſplendour and beauty, that ſtill animate theſe ſylvan receſſes. The parrot, and its various affinities, from the maccaw to the parroquet, ſome of them not larger than a ſparrow, are too well known to require deſcription. Theſe are as plentiful in the larger iſlands of the Weſt Indies as the rook is in Europe. But the boaſt of American groves is doubtleſs the colibry, or humming bird; of the brilliance of whoſe plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The conſummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyſt, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blended and enveloped beneath a tranſparent veil of waving gold, are diſtinguiſhable in every ſpecies, but differently arranged and apportioned in each. Nor is the minuteneſs of its form leſs the object of admiration, than the luſtre of its plumage; the ſmalleſt ſpecies not exceeding the ſize of a beetle, and appearing the link which connects the bird and inſect creation.

It has been obſerved, however, that although

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though nature is profuſe of ornament to the birds of the torrid zone, ſhe has beſtowed far greater powers of melody on thoſe of Europe; and the obſervation is partly true. That prodigality and variety of muſick which in the vernal ſeaſon enlivens the Britiſh groves, is certainly unknown to the ſhades of the tropical regions; yet are not theſe altogether ſilent or inharmonious. The note of the mockbird is deſervedly celebrated, while the hum of myriads of buſy inſects, and the plaintive melody of the innumerable variety of doves abounding in theſe climates, form a concert, which, if it ſerves not to awaken the fancy, contributes at leaſt to ſooth the affections, and, like the murmuring of a rivulet, gives harmony to repoſe.

Mountains.

But, reſigning to the naturaliſt the taſk of minutely deſcribing the ſplendid aerial tribes of theſe regions, whoſe variety is not leſs remarkable than their beauty, I now return from theſe, the ſmalleſt and moſt pleaſing forms of active life, to the largeſt and moſt awful objects of inanimate nature. The tranſition is abrupt; but it is in the magnitude, extent, and elevation of the mountains of the New World, that the Almighty has moſt ſtrikingly manifeſted the wonders of his omnipotence. Thoſe of South America are ſuppoſed to be nearly twice the height of the higheſt in the ancient hemiſphere, and,

even

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even under the equator, have their tops involved in everlaſting ſnow. To thoſe maſſive piles, the loftieſt ſummits of the moſt elevated of the Weſt Indian Iſlands cannot indeed be compared; but ſome of theſe riſe, nevertheleſs, in amazing grandeur, and are among the firſt objects that fix the attention of the voyager. The mountains of Hiſpaniola in particular, whoſe wavy ridges are deſcried from ſea at the diſtance of thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in ſtupendous magnificence, and the blue mountains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have heard, been fully explored. Neither curioſity nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the topmoſt of thoſe lofty regions. In ſuch of them as are acceſſible, nature is found to have put on the appearance of a new creation. As the climate changes, the trees, the birds, and the inſects are ſeen alſo to differ from thoſe which are met with below. To an unaccuſtomed ſpectator, looking down from thoſe heights, the whole ſcene appears like enchantment. The firſt object which catches the eye at the dawn of day, is a vaſt expanſe of vapour, covering the whole face of the vallies. Its boundaries being perfectly diſtinct and viſibly circumſcribed, it has the exact reſemblance of an immenſe body of water; whilſt the mountains appear like ſo many iſlands in the midſt of a beautiful lake. As the ſun increaſes

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in force, the profpect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; difclofing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of induftry, heightened and embellifhed by the full blaze of a tropical fun. In the equatorial feafon, fcenes of ftill greater magnificence frequently prefent themfelves; for, while all is calm and ferene in the higher regions, the clouds are feen below fweeping along the fides of the mountains in vaft bodies; until growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The found of the tempeft is diftinctly heard by the fpectator above; the diftant lightning is feen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thoufand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

Reflections, &c.

BUT, lofty as the tropical mountains generally are, it is wonderfully true, that all the known parts of their fummits furnifh inconteftible evidence that the fea had once dominion over them. Even their appearance at a diftance affords an argument in fupport of this conclufion. Their ridges refemble billows, and their various inequalities, inflexions, and convexities, feem juftly afcribable to the fluctuations of the deep. As in other countries too, marine fhells are found in great abundance in various parts of thefe heights. I have feen on a mountain in the interior parts of Jamaica petrified oyfters dug

up,

up, which perfectly reſembled, in the moſt minute circumſtances, the large oyſters of the weſtern coaſt of England; a ſpecies not to be found at this time, I believe, in the ſeas of the Weſt Indies. Here then, is an ample field for conjecture to expatiate in; and indeed few ſubjects have afforded greater exerciſe to the pens of phyſical writers, than the appearances I have mentioned. While ſome philoſophers aſſign the origin of all the various inequalities of the earth to the ravages of the deluge, others, conſidering the mountains as the parents of ſprings and rivers, maintain that they are coeval with the world; and that, firſt emerging from the abyſs, they were created with it. Some again aſcribe them to the force of volcanoes and earthquakes: "the Almighty," ſay they, "while he permits ſubterranean fires to ſwallow up cities and plains in one part of the globe, cauſes them to produce promontories and iſlands in another, which afterwards become the fruitful ſeats of induſtry and happineſs *(r)*."



All theſe and other theoriſts concur, however, in the belief that the ſurface of the globe has undergone many ſurpriſing and violent convulſions and changes ſince it firſt came from the hands of the Creator. Hills have ſunk

*(r)* Goldſmith's Hiſtory of the Earth, &c. vol. i.

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into plains, and vallies have been exalted into hills. Refpecting the numerous iflands of the Weft Indies, they are generally confidered as the tops of lofty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into iflands by a tremendous concuffion of nature, which, increafing the natural courfe of the ocean from Eaft to Weft, has laid a vaft extent of level country under water (*f*).

BUT, notwithftanding all that has been written on this fubject, very little feems to be known. The advocates of this fyftem do not fufficiently confider, that the fea could not have covered fo great a portion of land on one fide of the globe, without leaving an immenfe fpace as fuddenly dry on the other. We have no record in hiftory of fo mighty a revolution, nor indeed are many of the premifes on which this hypothefis is built, eftablifhed in truth.

Origin.

PERHAPS, inftead of confidering thefe iflands as the fragments of a defolated continent, we ought rather to regard them as the rudiments of a new one. It is extremely probable, that many of them, even now, are but beginning to emerge from the bofom of the deep. Mr. Buffon has fhewn, by incontrovertible evidence, that the bottom of the fea bears an exact refemblance

(*f*) See L'Abbé Raynal, L'Abbé Pluche, and others.

to

to the land which we inhabit; conſiſting, like the earth, of hills and vallies, plains and hollows, rocks, ſands and ſoils of every conſiſtence and ſpecies. To the motion of the waves, and the ſediments which they have depoſited, he imputes too, with great probability, the regular poſitions of the various ſtrata or layers which compoſe the upper parts of the earth; and he ſhews that this arrangement cannot have been the effect of a ſudden revolution, but of cauſes ſlow, gradual, and ſucceſſive in their operations. To the flow of tides and rivers, depoſiting materials which have been accumulating ever ſince the creation, and the various fluctuations of the deep operating thereon, he aſcribes therefore, moſt of thoſe inequalities in the preſent appearance of the globe which in ſome parts embelliſh, and in others (to our limited view at leaſt) deface it.

Pursuing this train of thought, we may be led perhaps to conſider many of the moſt terrifying appearances of nature, as neceſſary and propitious in the formation and ſupport of the ſyſtem of the world; and even in volcanoes and earthquakes (of which moſt of theſe iſlands bear evident memorials) we may trace the ſtupendous agency of divine providence, employed, as mankind increaſe in numbers, in raiſing up from the bottom of the deep new portions of land for their habitations and comfort.

These

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THESE confiderations are founded in piety, and feem confonant to reafon; and although in contemplating the tremendous phenomena which the mountains of South America, beyond all other parts of the globe, prefent to our notice *(t)*, and reflecting on the devaftations which they fpread, human reafon will fometimes find itfelf perplexed and difmayed, may we not by analogy conclude, that the Almighty, uniform in his purpofes, is equally wife and benevolent in all his difpenfations, though the fcale on which he acts is fometimes too large for the fpan of our limited and feeble comprehenfion? They who feem beft qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will moft readily acknowledge that it is not for man to unfold the page of Omnipotence. Happy if to confcious ignorance we add humble adoration!

*(t)* "Of all parts of the earth America is the place where the dreadful irregularities of nature are the moft confpicuous. Vefuvius, and Etna itfelf, are but mere fireworks in comparifon to the burning mountains of the Andes, which, as they are the higheft mountains in the world, fo alfo are they the moft formidable for their eruptions."——Goldfmith's Hiftory of the Earth, &c. vol. i. p. 99.

It is related, that a volcanick explofion from *Cotopaxi*, a mountain in the province of Quito, has been heard at the diftance of 150 miles.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Charaibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands.—Origin.—Difficulties attending an accurate inveſtigation of their character.—Such particulars related as are leaſt diſputed, concerning their manners and diſpoſitions, perſons and domeſtick habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c.—Some reflections drawn from the whole.*

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HAVING thus given an account of the climate and ſeaſons, and endeavoured to convey to the reader ſome faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of Nature arrayed the ſurface of theſe numerous Iſlands, I ſhall now proceed to enquire after thoſe inhabitants to whoſe ſupport and conveniency they were chiefly found ſubſervient, when they firſt came to the knowledge of Europe.

IT hath been obſerved in the preceding chapter that Columbus, on his firſt arrival at Hiſpaniola, received information of a barbarous and warlike people, a nation of Cannibals, who frequently made depredations on that, and the neighbouring Iſlands. They were called Caribbees, or Charaibes, and were repreſented as com-

ing from the Eaſt. Columbus, in his ſecond voyage, diſcovered that they were the inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands.

The great difference in language and character between theſe ſavages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin alſo was different. Of this there ſeems indeed to be but little doubt; but the queſtion from whence each claſs of Iſlands was firſt peopled, is of more difficult ſolution. Rochefort, who publiſhed his account of the Antilles in 1658, pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally a nation of Florida, in North America.—He ſuppoſes that a colony of the Apalachian Indians having been driven from that continent, arrived at the Windward Iſlands, and exterminating the ancient male inhabitants, took poſſeſſion of their lands and their women. Of the larger iſlands he preſumes that the natural ſtrength, extent and population affording ſecurity to the natives, theſe happily eſcaped the deſtruction which overtook their unfortunate neighbours; and thus aroſe the diſtinction obſervable between the inhabitants of the larger and ſmaller iſlands *(a)*.

*(a)* Rochefort Hiſtoire des Iſles Antilles, liv. ii. c. vii. See alſo, P. Labat nouveau Voyage aux Iſles de L'Amerique, tom. iv. c. xv.

To

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To this account of the origin of the Insular Charaibes, the generality of historians have given their assent; but there are doubts attending it that are not easily solved. If they migrated from Florida, the imperfect state and natural course of their navigation, induce a belief that traces of them would have been found on those islands which are near to the Florida Shore; yet the natives of the Bahamas, when discovered by Columbus, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola *(b)*. Besides, it is sufficiently known that there existed anciently many numerous and powerful tribes of Charaibes, on the southern Peninsula, extending from the river Oronoko to Essequebe, and throughout the whole province of Surinam, even to Brasil; some of which still maintain their independency. It was with one of those tribes that our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh formed an alliance, when that commander made his romantick expedition to the coast of Guiana in 1595 *(c)*; and by him we are assured that the Charaibes of that part of the Continent, spoke the language of Dominica *(d)*. I incline therefore to the opinion of Martyr *(e)*, and con-

*(b)* Herrera, lib. ix. chap. ii.
*(c)* Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259.
*(d)* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 668.
*(e)* P. Martyr, Decad. 2. lib. i.

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clude that the iſlanders were rather a Colony from the Charaibes of South America, than from any nation of the North. Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred conſtantly to Guiana *(f)*. It does not appear that they entertained the moſt remote idea of a Northern anceſtry.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the Continental Charaibes were themſelves emigrants from the Northern to the Southern Peninſula: but, without attempting to controvert the poſition to which recent diſcoveries ſeem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely, that the Aſiatick Continent firſt furniſhed inhabitants to the contiguous North-Weſtern parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a diſtinct race, widely differing from all the Nations of the New Hemiſphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who aſcribe to them an oriental anceſtry from acroſs the Atlantick *(g)*.

*(f)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. vii. See alſo, Note 94 to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of America. The people called *Galibis*, mentioned by Dr. R. are the Charaibes of the Continent, the term *Galibis or Calibis* (as it is written by Du Tertre) being, as I conceive, corrupted from *Caribbee*. Vide Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297. and Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 360.

*(g)* Some arguments in ſupport of this opinion are ſubjoined in the Appendix to Book I.

ENQUIRIES

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ENQUIRIES however into the origin of a remote and unlettered race, can be proſecuted with ſucceſs only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies with thoſe of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or moſt of thoſe particulars reſpecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in perpetual warfare, hunted from iſland to iſland by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to thoſe who might have been qualified for ſuch reſearches, of inveſtigating the natural diſpoſitions and habitual cuſtoms with minuteneſs and preciſion.. Neither indeed could a juſt eſtimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of ſuch of them as were at length ſubjugated to the European yoke; for they loſt, together with their freedom, many of their original characteriſticks; and at laſt even the deſire of acting from the impulſe of their own minds. We diſcern, ſays Rochefort *(h)*, a wonderful change in the diſpoſitions and habits of the Charaibes. In ſome reſpects we have enlightened; in others (to our ſhame be it ſpoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addreſſed one of our planters on this ſubject: —"Our people," he complained, "are become "almoſt as bad as yours.—We are ſo much

*(h)* Rochefort, liv. ii. ch. ix. p. 436.



"altered

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"altered ſince you came among us, that we "hardly know ourſelves, and we think it is "owing to ſo melancholy a change, that hurri- "canes are more frequent than they were for- "merly. It is the evil ſpirit who has done "all this,—who has taken our beſt lands from "us, and given us up to the dominion of the "Chriſtians *(i)*."

My preſent inveſtigation muſt therefore be neceſſarily defective. Nevertheleſs, by ſelecting and combining ſuch memorials as are leaſt controverted, I ſhall hope to exhibit a few ſtriking particulars in the character of this ill-fated people, which, if I miſtake not, will lead to ſome important concluſions in the ſtudy of human nature.

*(i)* This extract from Rochefort is ſurely a ſufficient anſwer to the obſervations of Monſ. de Chanvalon, who wrote ſo late as 1751, and, judging of all the Charaibes from the few with whom he had any communication, repreſents them as not poſſeſſing any ſagacity or foreſight beyond mere animal inſtinct. He makes no allowance for *their* degradation in a ſtate of captivity and ſervitude, although in another part of his book, ſpeaking of the African blacks in the Weſt Indies, he dwells ſtrongly on this circumſtance reſpecting the latter. "Peut on connoitre (he obſerves) "le vrai genie d'un peuple opprimè, qui voit ſans ceſſe les "chatimens levès ſur ſa tete, et la violence toujours prête à "être ſoutenue par la politique et la ſûreté publique? Peut "on juger de la valeur, quand elle eſt enchainée, et ſans "armees?"—Voyage a la Martinìque, p. 58.

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THEIR fierce ſpirit and warlike diſpoſition have already been mentioned. Hiſtorians have not failed to notice theſe, among the moſt diſtinguiſhable of their qualities (k).—Reſtleſs, enterprizing and ardent, it would ſeem they conſidered war as the chief end of their creation, and the reſt of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorſe the bodies of ſuch of their enemies (the men at leaſt) as fell into their hands.—This cuſtom is ſo repugnant to our feelings, that for a century paſt, until the late diſcoveries of a ſimilar practice in the countries of the Pacifick Ocean, the philoſophers of Europe had boldly impeached the ve-

(k) Dr. Robertſon, in note 93 to the firſt vol. of his Hiſtory of America, quotes from a MS. Hiſtory of Ferdinand and Iſabella, written by Andrew Bernaldes, the cotemporary and friend of Columbus, the following inſtance of the bravery of the Charaibes. " A canoe with four men, two women, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with Columbus's fleet. " A Spaniſh bark with 25 men was ſent to take them, and " the fleet in the mean time cut off their communication " with the ſhore. Inſtead of giving way to deſpair, the Charaibes ſeized their arms with undaunted reſolution, and " began the attack, wounding ſeveral of the Spaniards although they had targets as well as other defenſive armour, " and even after the canoe was overſet, it was with no little " difficulty and danger that ſome of them were ſecured, as " they continued to defend themſelves, and to uſe their " bows with great dexterity while ſwimming in the ſea." —Herrera has recorded the ſame anecdote.

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racity of the moſt eminent ancient voyagers who had firſt recorded the exiſtence of it. Even Labat, who reſided in the Weſt Indies at a period when ſome of the Iſlands ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion that inſtances of this abominable practice among them, were at all times extremely rare;—the effect only of a ſudden impulſe of revenge ariſing from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excurſions to the larger iſlands, for the purpoſe of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of ſeizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies *(l)*.

Nevertheless there is no circumſtance in the hiſtory of mankind better atteſted than the univerſal prevalence of theſe practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hiſpaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himſelf at Guadaloupe on its firſt diſcovery *(m)*, he beheld in ſeveral cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently ſeparated, and evidently kept for occaſional repaſts. He releaſed, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the natives of Porto Rico, who, having been brought captives from thence, were

*(l)* Labat, tom. iv. p. 322.
*(m)* November 4, 1493.

reſerved

reserved as victims for the same horrid purpose *(n)*. CHAP. II.

Thus far, it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be considered rather as beasts of prey, than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as justifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the fiercest monsters of the wilderness; since they who shew no mercy, are entitled to no pity.—

But, among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly and affectionate *(o)*. They considered all strangers, indeed, as enemies; and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation. The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they considered those islanders as a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America, with whom the Charaibes

*(n)* F. Columbus, cap. xlvi. Peter Martyr, Decad. I. lib. ii. Herrera, lib. ii. cap. vii. See also Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259, who is of opinion, that no other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestible.

*(o)* Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 359.

of

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of that continent are continually at war *(p)*. We can aſſign no cauſe for ſuch hereditary and irreconcileable hoſtility. With regard to the people of Europe, it is allowed that, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without reſerve. Their friendſhip was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Charaibes of Guiana ſtill fondly cheriſh the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preſerve the Engliſh colours which he left with them at parting *(q)*.

Of the loftineſs of their ſentiments and their abhorrence of ſlavery, a writer, not very partial towards them, gives the following illuſtration: "There is not a nation on earth (ſays Labat) *(r)* "more jealous of their independency than the "Charaibes They are impatient under the "leaſt infringement of it; and when, at any "time, they are witneſſes to the reſpect and de- "ference which the natives of Europe obſerve "towards their ſuperiors, they deſpiſe us as abject "ſlaves; wondering how any man can be ſo baſe "as to crouch before his equal." Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates alſo that when kidnapped and carried from their native iſlands into ſlavery, as they frequently were, the miſe-

*(p)* Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. x. p. 449.
*(q)* Bancroft, p. 259.
*(r)* Labat, tom. iv. p. 329.

rable

rable captives commonly funk under a fenfe of their misfortune, and finding refiftance and efcape hopelefs, fought refuge in death from the calamities of their condition (s). CHAP. II.

To this principle of confcious equality and native dignity, muft be imputed the contempt which they manifefted for the inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they foon learnt, by fatal experience, the fuperiority to their own weapons; and thofe therefore they valued; but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amufements and baubles of children:—hence the propenfity to theft, fo common among other favage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

The ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they feldom appeared chearful at home. Reflections on paft mifcarriage, or anxious fchemes of future achievement, feemed to fill up many of their hours, and rendered them habitually thoughtful, penfive and filent.

(s) Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Labat relates that the following fentiment was proverbial among the firft French fettlers in the Windward Iflands:—"*Regarder de travers un* "*Charaibe, c'eft le battre, et que de le battre c'eft le tuer, ou* "*s'expofer à en être tuè.*" Labat, tom. ii. p. 74.

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filent (t). Love itfelf, which exerts its influence in the frozen deferts of Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes (u). Their infenfibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives (x), has been remarked by many writers; and it muft have arifen from extrinfick caufes;—from the predominance of paffions ftrong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully difpofes to voluptuoufnefs, and awakens the inftincts of nature much fooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was diftinguifhable even in their perfons. Though not fo tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robuft and mufcular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quicknefs, and a wildnefs in their eyes, that feemed an emanation from a fierce and martial fpirit (y). But, not fatisfied with the workmanfhip of nature, they called in the affiftance of art, to make themfelves more formidable,

(t) Du Tertre, tom. ii.

(u) Rochefort, c. xi.

(x) Ibid. c. xxii.

(y) Oviedo, lib. iii. This agrees likewife with the Chevalier Pinto's account of the Brafilians in note 42 to vol. i. of Dr. Robertfon's Hiftory. "At the firft afpect a Sou- "thern American appears to be mild and innocent, but, on "a more attentive view, one difcovers in his countenance "fomething wild, diftruftful and fullen."

They

They painted their faces and bodies with arnotto ſo extravagantly, that their natural complexion, which was nearly that of a Spaniſh olive, was not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed under the ſurface of crimſon *(z)*. However, as this mode of painting themſelves was practiſed by both ſexes, perhaps it was at firſt introduced as a defence againſt the venomous inſects ſo common in tropical climates, or poſſibly they conſidered the brilliancy of the colour as highly ornamental; but the men had other methods of deforming their perſons, which mere perverſion of taſte alone, would not, I think, have induced them to adopt. They disfigured their cheeks with deep inciſions and hideous ſcars, which they ſtained with black, and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage that divides the noſtrils, and inſerted the bone of ſome fiſh, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoiſe-ſhell *(a)*,—a frightful cuſtom, practiſed alſo by the natives of New Holland *(b)*, and they ſtrung together the teeth of ſuch of their enemies as they had ſlain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, as trophies of ſucceſsful cruelty *(c)*.

*(z)* Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539.
*(a)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.
*(b)* Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.
*(c)* Gumilla, tom. i. p. 193.

To

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To draw the bow with unerring ſkill, to wield the club with dexterity and ſtrength, to ſwim with agility and boldneſs, to catch fiſh and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indiſpenſible neceſſity, and the education of their children was well ſuited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys ſkilful, even in infancy, in the exerciſe of the bow, was to ſuſpend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permiſſion to eat *(d)*. But theſe were ſubordinate objects:— The Charaibes inſtructed their youth, at the ſame time, in leſſons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inſpire them with courage in

*(d)* See Rochefort, c. xxviii. p. 555, and Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 283. Their arrows were commonly poiſoned, except when they made their military excurſions by night. On thoſe occaſions, they converted them into inſtruments of ſtill greater miſchief; for by arming the points with pledgets of cotton dipt into oil, and ſet on flame, they fired whole villages of their enemies at a diſtance *. The poiſon which they uſed, was a concoction of noxious gums and vegetable juices †, and had the property of being perfectly innocent when received into the ſtomach, but if communicated immediately to the blood, through the ſlighteſt wound, it was generally mortal. The Indians of Guiana ſtill prepare a ſimilar poiſon. It is ſuppoſed however, that ſugar ſpeedily adminiſtered in large quantities, is an antidote. (See *Relation Abregèe d'un Voyage, &c. par Monſ. de la Condamine*; and Bancroft's Hiſt. of Guiana.)

* Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559.

† Oviedo, lib. iii.

war,

war, and a contempt of danger and death;—above all things, to inftil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirft of revenge towards the Arrowauks. The means which they adopted for thefe purpofes were in fome refpects fuperftitious; in others cruel and deteftable. CHAP. II.

As foon as a male child was brought into the world, he was fprinkled with fome drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies ufed on this occafion were fufficiently painful to the father, but he fubmitted without emotion or complaint; fondly believing, that the fame degree of courage which he had himfelf difplayed, was by thefe means tranfmitted to his fon *(e)*. As the boy grew, he was foon made familiar with fcenes of barbarity; he partook of the horrid repafts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a flaughtered Arrowauk; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to fhare the glories of conqueft, until his fortitude had been brought to the teft. The dawn of manhood ufhered in the hour of fevere trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more founding and fignificant;—a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always

*(e)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxv. p. 552.

accompanied

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accompanied by a ſcene of ferocious feſtivity and unnatural cruelty *(f)*.

THE ſeverities inflicted on ſuch occaſions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of ſuperſtition in ſuppreſſing the moſt powerful feelings of nature; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch records the prevalence of a ſimilar cuſtom among the Lacedemonians. "At Sparta," ſays the Hiſtorian, "boys are "whipped for a whole day, oftentimes to death, "before the altar of Diana, and there is a won-"derful emulation among them who beſt can "ſuſtain the greateſt number of ſtripes." Nor did the Charaibe youth, yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the ſeverities he ſuſtained extorted the leaſt ſymptom of weakneſs from the young ſufferer, he was diſgraced for ever; but if he roſe ſuperior to pain, and baffled the rage of his perſecutors, by perſeverance and ſerenity, he received the higheſt applauſe. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, *that he was now a man like one of themſelves*.

A PENANCE ſtill more ſevere, and torments more excruciating; ſtripes, burning and ſuffo-

*(f)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377.

cation, conſtituted a teſt for him who aſpired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war *(g)*; for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no ſupremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magiſtrates. To their old men indeed they allowed ſome kind of authority, but it was at beſt ill-defined, and muſt at all times have been inſufficient to protect the weak againſt the ſtrong.—In war, experience had taught them that ſubordination was as requiſite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general aſſemblies with great ſolemnity *(h)*; but, as hath been obſerved, they put their pretenſions to the proof with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is diſguſting, and may well be ſuppreſſed.

If it appears ſtrange that where ſo little was to be gained by preheminence, ſo much ſhould be endured to obtain it, it muſt be conſidered that, in the eſtimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtleſs more than adequate to the coſt of the purchaſe. If ſucceſs attended his meaſures, the feaſt and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a ſecond time;

*(g)* Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1262. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et ſeq.

*(h)* Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

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aſſuming in future that of the moſt formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand *(i)*. He was permitted to appropriate to himſelf, as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen preſented to his choice the moſt beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour *(k)*.

It was probably this laſt mentioned teſtimony of publick eſteem and gratitude that gave riſe in theſe Iſlands to the inſtitution of polygamy, which, as hath been already obſerved, prevailed univerſally among them, and ſtill prevails among the Charaibes of South America *(l)*;—an inſtitution the more excuſable, as their women, from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourſe after pregnancy *(m)*. I am ſorry to add, that the condition of theſe poor creatures was at the ſame time truly wretched. Though frequently beſtowed as the prize of ſucceſsful courage, the wife, thus honourably obtained, was ſoon conſidered of as little value as the captive. Deficient in thoſe qualities which alone were eſtimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as ſlaves than companions. They ſuſtained every ſpecies of

*(i)* Rochefort, ch..xxiii. p. 553.
*(k)* Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 546.
*(l)* Bancroft, p. 254.
*(m)* Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 374.

drudgery:

drudgery: they ground the maize, prepared the caſſavi, gathered in the cotton and wove the hamack *(n)*; nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in preſence of their huſbands *(o)*: Under theſe circumſtances, it is not wonderful that they were leſs prolifick than the women of Europe *(p)*. But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the firſt viſible proof that a people is emerging from ſavage manners, is a diſplay of tenderneſs towards the female ſex *(q)*.

CHAP. II.

PERHAPS

*(n)* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1272. Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

*(o)* Labat, tom. ii. p. 15 and 95.

*(p)* Lafitau, tom. i. p. 590.

*(q)* Father Joſeph Gumilla, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oronoko, relates (tom. i. p. 207. Fr. tranſlation) that the Charaibes of the Continent puniſh their women caught in adultery, like the ancient Iſraelites, "by ſtoning them to death before an aſſembly of the people:" but I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer; and as it is evidently brought forward to ſupport the author's hypotheſis, that the Americans are originally deſcended from the Jews, I ſuſpect that it is not well founded:—at leaſt there is no trace that ſuch a cuſtom exiſted among the inſular Charaibes. Rochefort, ſpeaking of the latter, obſerves, that before they had any intercourſe with the Chriſtians they had no eſtabliſhed puniſhment for adultery, becauſe (ſays he) "the crime itſelf was unknown."—He adds, that when this, with other European vices, was introduced among them, the injured huſband became his own avenger.—Labat's reaſoning

PERHAPS a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have ſoftened many of the ſhades which thus darken the character of theſe iſlanders, and have diſcovered ſome latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to leſſen, though not wholly to remove, the diſguſt we naturally feel in beholding human nature ſo debaſed and degraded; but of many particulars wherein curioſity would deſire to be gratified, we have no account. We know but little, for inſtance, concerning their domeſtick œconomy, their arts, manufactures, and agriculture; their ſenſe of filial and paternal obligations; their religious rites and funeral ceremonies. Such further information however, in theſe and other reſpects, as authorities the leaſt diſputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached obſervations.

BESIDES the ornaments which we have noticed to have been worn by both ſexes, the women, on arriving at the age of puberty, were diſtinguiſhed

on this head is too curious to be omitted: "Il n'y a que les "femmes qui ſoient obligèes a l'obèiſſance, et dont les "hommes ſoient abſolument les maitres. Ils portent cette "ſuperiorité juſqu' à l'exces, et les tuent pour des ſujets très "legers. Un ſoupçon d'infidelité, bien ou mal fondè, ſuffit, "ſans autre formalité, pour les mettre en droit de leur caſſer "la tête. *Cela eſt un peu ſauvage à la veritè; mais ce'ſt un "frein bien propre pour retenir les femmes dans leur devoir.*" Tom. iv. p. 327.

guiſhed alſo by a ſort of buſkin or half boot, made of cotton, which ſurrounded the ſmall part of the leg *(r)*. A diſtinction, however, to which ſuch of their females as had been taken in the chance of war, dared not aſpire *(s)*. In other reſpects both male and female appeared as naked as our firſt parents before the fall *(t)*. Like them, as they knew no guilt, they knew no ſhame; nor was clothing thought neceſſary to perſonal comfort, where the chill blaſt of winter is never felt. CHAP. II.

THEIR hair was uniformly of a ſhining black, ſtrait and coarſe; but they dreſſed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with feathers of various colours. As their hair thus conſtituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the ſincerity of their ſorrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it ſhort like their ſlaves and captives *(u)*; to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigorouſly

*(r)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12. The ſame ſort of *brodequin*, or buſkin, is worn by the female Hottentots and other nations of Africa.

*(s)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 394.

*(t)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 441. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157.

*(u)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. p. 439. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 412.

 denied.

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denied *(x)*. Like moſt other nations of the New Hemiſphere, they eradicated, with great nicety, the incipient beard *(y)*, and all ſuperfluous hairs on their bodies;—a circumſtance which has given riſe to a notion that all the Aborigines of America were naturally beardleſs. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many reſpectable writers, but after much enquiry, and ſome inſtances of ocular inſpection, I am ſatisfied that it is groundleſs.

THE circumſtance the moſt remarkable concerning the perſons of the Charaibes, was their ſtrange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head. On the birth of a child, its tender and flexible ſkull was confined between two ſmall pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each ſide, elevated the forehead, and occaſioned it, and the back part of the ſkull, to reſemble two ſides of a ſquare *(z)*; an uncouth and frightful cuſtom ſtill obſerved, by the miſerable remnant of red Charaibes in the Iſland of St. Vincent *(a)*.

THEY

*(x)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 405.

*(y)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 392.

*(z)* Oviedo, lib. iii. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix.

*(a)* I have been told by anatomiſts, that the coronal ſuture of new-born children in the Weſt Indies is commonly more open than that of infants born in colder climates, and the brain more liable to external injury. Perhaps, therefore, the

THEY refided in villages which refembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top *(b)*. They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of fuperior magnitude to the reft. It was formed with great labour, and ferved as a publick hall or ftate houfe *(c)*, wherein we are affured that the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; "obferving that law" (faith the Earl of Cumberland, who vifited thefe Iflands in 1596) "which in Lycurgus's mouth was thought "ftrange and needlefs *(d)*." Thefe halls were alfo the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

THEIR arts and manufactures, though few, difplayed a degree of ingenuity, which one would have fcarcely expected to find amongft a people fo little removed from a ftate of mere animal nature, as to reject all drefs as fuperfluous. Co-

the Indian cuftom of depreffing the *os frontis* and the *occiput*, was originally meant to affift the operation of nature in clofing the fkull.

*(b)* P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

*(c)* Ibid. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xvi. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 8.

*(d)* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.

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lumbus obſerved an abundance of ſubſtantial cotton cloth in all the iſlands which he viſited; and the natives poſſeſſed the art of ſtaining it with various colours, though the Charaibes delighted chiefly in red *(e)*. Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, ſuch as are now uſed at ſea;—for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preſerved alſo the original name *(f)*.

THEY poſſeſſed likewiſe the art of making veſſels of clay for domeſtick uſes, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Europe. The ruins of many of theſe kilns were viſible not long ſince in Barbadoes, where ſpecimens of the manufacture are ſtill frequently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the hiſtorian of that iſland, obſerves, that they far ſurpaſs the earthern ware made by the negroes, in thinneſs, ſmoothneſs and beauty *(g)*. Beſides thoſe, they invented various other utenſils for œconomical purpoſes, which

*(e)* Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

*(f)* All the early Spaniſh and French writers expreſsly aſſert, that the original Indian name for their ſwinging beds was *amack*, or *hamack*;—but Dr. Johnſon derives the Engliſh word *hammock* from the Saxon.

*(g)* Nat. Hiſt. of Barbadoes, p. 8. Ligon, who viſited this iſland in 1647, declares that ſome of theſe veſſels, which he ſaw, even ſurpaſſed any earthern-ware made in England "both" (to uſe his own words) "in fineſſe of mettle, and "curioſity of turninge."

are

are enumerated by Labat. The baſkets which they compoſed of the fibres of the palmeto leaves, were ſingularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, and other weapons, diſplayed a neatneſs and poliſh, which the moſt ſkilful European artiſt would have found it difficult to have excelled, even with European tools.

Of the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are ſlender and unſatisfactory. We are told, on good authority, that among the Charaibes of the Continent, there was no diviſion of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies *(h)*. Where no criminal juriſdiction is eſtabliſhed, the idea of private property muſt neceſſarily be unknown or imperfect; and in theſe iſlands where land is ſcarce, it ſeems probable that, as among ſome of the tribes of South America *(i)*, cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each ſeparate community, and their harveſts depoſited in publick granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the publick ſtock.—Rochefort indeed obſerves, that all their intereſts were in common.

Their food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumſtance of their eating human fleſh, ſeems to have been the ſame, in moſt re-

*(h)* Bancroft, p. 254.
*(i)* Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265.

ſpects,

ſpects, as that of the natives of the larger iſlands, which ſhall be deſcribed hereafter. But although their appetites were voracious *(k)*, they rejected many of the beſt bounties of nature. Of ſome animals they held the fleſh in abhorrence; theſe were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or ſea cow, and the turtle *(l)*. Labat obſerves, that they ſcrupled likewiſe to eat the eel, which the rivers in ſeveral of the iſlands ſupply in great plenty *(m)*.

The ſtriking conformity of theſe, and ſome other of their prejudices and cuſtoms, to the practices of the Jews, has not eſcaped the notice of hiſtorians *(n)*.—But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abſtaining from thoſe things which many nations account very wholeſome and delicious food, we are no where ſufficiently informed.

It moſt probably was, however, the influence of ſuperſtition that gave riſe to theſe and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common ſenſe;—one of which appears at firſt extraordinary and incredible, but it is too well atteſted to be denied. On the birth of his

*(k)* Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 12, 70, 237. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 515.

*(l)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

*(m)* Labat, tom. iv. p. 304.

*(n)* Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

firſt

firſt ſon the father retired to his bed, and faſted with a ſtrictneſs that often endangered life *(o)*. Lafitau, obſerving that the ſame cuſtom was practiſed by the Tybarenians of Aſia, and the Iberians or ancient inhabitants of Spain, and is ſtill in uſe among the people of Japan, not only urges this circumſtance as a proof, among others, that the new world was peopled from the old, but pretends to diſcover in it alſo ſome traces of the doctrine of original ſin: he ſuppoſes that the ſevere penance thus voluntarily ſubmitted to by the father, was at firſt inſtituted in the pious view of protecting his iſſue from the contagion of hereditary guilt; averting the wrath of offended Omnipotence at the crime of our firſt parents, and expiating *their* guilt by *his* ſufferings *(p)*.

The ancient Thracians, as we are informed by Herodotus, when a male child was brought into the world, lamented over him in ſad vaticination of his deſtiny, and they rejoiced when he was releaſed by death from thoſe miſeries which they conſidered as his inevitable portion in life: but, whatever might have been the motives that firſt

*(o)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. 371, 373. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 550. Labat, tom. iv. p. 368. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 49. Nieuhoff relates, that this practice prevails likewiſe among the natives of Braſil. Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 133.

*(p)* Lafitau, tom. i. p. 257.

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induced the Charaibes to do penance on ſuch occaſions, it would ſeem that grief and dejection had no great ſhare in them; for the ceremony of faſting was immediately ſucceeded by rejoicing and triumph, by drunkenneſs and debauchery. Their lamentations for the dead, ſeem to have ariſen from the more laudable dictates of genuine nature; for, unlike the Thracians on theſe ſolemnities, they not only deſpoiled their hair, as we have before related, but when the maſter of the family died, the ſurviving relations, after burying the corpſe in the centre of his own dwelling, with many demonſtrations of unaffected grief, quitted the houſe altogether, and erected another in a diſtant ſituation *(q)*.

UNFORTUNATELY, however, if now and then we diſtinguiſh among them ſome faint traces of rational piety, our ſatisfaction is of ſhort continuance;

> No light, but rather darkneſs viſible,
> Serves only to diſcover ſights of woe: MILTON.

or it is a light that glimmers for a moment, and then ſets in blood.

IT is aſſerted, and I believe with truth, that the expectation of a future ſtate has prevailed

*(q)* Labat, tom. iv. p. 367. They placed the dead body in the grave in a ſitting poſture, with the knees to the chin. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 402.

amongſt

amongſt all mankind, in all ages and countries of the world. It is certain, that it prevailed among the Charaibes *(r)*; who not only believed that death was not the final extinction of their being, but pleaſed themſelves alſo with the fond conceit that their departed relations were ſecret ſpectators of their conduct;—that they ſtill ſympathized in their ſufferings, and participated in their welfare. To theſe notions, ſo flattering to our wiſhes,—perhaps congenial to our nature,—they added others of a dreadful tendency; for, conſidering the ſoul as ſuſceptible of the ſame impreſſions, and poſſeſſing the ſame paſſions, as when allied to the body, it was thought a religious duty to their deceaſed heroes, to ſacrifice at their funerals ſome of the captives which had been taken in battle *(s)*. Immortality ſeemed a curſe without military glory: they allotted to the virtuous and the brave the enjoyment of ſupreme felicity, with their wives and their captives, in a ſort of Mahometan paradiſe. To the degenerate and the cowardly they aſſigned a far different portion: theſe, they doomed to everlaſting baniſhment beyond the mountains;—to unremitting labour, in employ-

*(r)* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 14. 485. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 372.

*(s)* Rochefort, c. xix. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274.

ments

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ments that difgrace manhood:—and this difgrace they fuppofed would be heightened by the greateft of all afflictions, captivity and fervitude among the Arrowauks *(t)*.

It might feem that this idea of a ftate of retribution after death neceffarily flowed from a well-founded belief in the exiftence of an all-wife and almighty Governor and Judge of the Univerfe; but we are told, notwithftanding, that the minds of the Charaibes were not elevated to this height. "They admitted," fays Rochefort, "that the earth was their bountiful parent, "which yielded them all the good things of life, "but they were fo lamentably funk in darknefs "and brutality, as to have formed no conception "of its beneficent Creator, through the continual "energy of whofe divine influence alone it yields "any thing. They had not even a name for "the Diety *(u)*." Other writers, however, of equal authority *(x)*, and even the fame writer elfewhere *(y)*, prefent us with a different reprefentation in this refpect, and allow that the Charaibes entertained an awful fenfe (perplexed indeed and indiftinct) of one great univerfal caufe,—of a fuperior, wife, and invifible Being of

*(t)* Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485.
*(u)* Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 469.
*(x)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 364.
*(y)* Rochefort, c. xiv.

abfolute

absolute and irresistible power *(z)*.—Like the ancient heathens, they admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities.—They even supposed, that each individual person had his peculiar protector or tutelary deity *(a)*. Nor is it true, as affirmed by some authors, that they had no notion of practical worship; for, besides the funeral ceremonies above-mentioned, which arose surely from a sense of mistaken piety, they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating, intended as symbols probably of their invisible deities, to whom they offered sacrifices, similar to those of the ancient Romans in their days of simplicity and virtue *(b)*. It was their custom to erect in every cottage a rustick altar, composed

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*(z)* The Galibis Indians, or Charaibes of South America, from whom I have supposed the Insular Charaibes to have been immediately descended, stiled the Supreme Being *Tamoussi*, or *Universal Father*.—Barrere.

*(a)* Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471.

*(b)* Mr. Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, makes mention of many fragments of Indian idols dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen vessels above-mentioned.—" I saw the head of one" (continues he) " which alone weighed above sixty pounds. " This, before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedestal " about three feet in height. The heads of all the others " were very small. These lesser idols were in all probability " their *Penates*, made small for the ease and conveniency of " being carried with them in their several journeys, as the " larger sort were perhaps designed for some stated places of " worship."— Natural History of Barbadoes, p. 7.

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of banana leaves and rushes, whereon they occasionally placed the earliest of their fruits, and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace-offerings through the mediation of their inferior deities to incensed Omnipotence (c): for it is admitted, that their devotions consisted less in the effusions of thankfulness, than in deprecations of wrath;—but herein neither were they distinguishable from the rest of mankind, either in the old world or the new. We can all forget benefits though we implore mercy. Strange however it is, that the same authors who accuse them of atheism should accuse them likewise, in the same moment, of polytheism and idolatry.

ATHEISTS they certainly were not; and although their system was not that of pure Theism, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think, been sufficiently noticed. If their devotion, as we have seen, was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of fear;—if they were less sensible of the goodness, than terrified at the judgments of the Almighty; it should be remembered, that in the climate of the West Indies, the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that sweeps nations to the deep, and the earthquake that swal-

(c) Lafitau, tom. i. p. 179. Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 472. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366.

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lows continents in its boſom.—Let us not then haſtily affix the charge of impiety on theſe ſimple people, if, when they beheld the elements combine for their deſtruction, they conſidered the Divine Being as infinite indeed in power, but ſevere in his juſtice, and inexorable in his anger. Under this impreſſion, the mind, humbled to the duſt in the conſciouſneſs of its own imbecility, and ſcarce daring to lift up a thought to the Great Cauſe of all things, fondly wiſhes for ſome mild and gracious interpreter; ſome amiable intermediate agent in whom to repoſe with confidence, as in a guardian and a friend. This deſire encreaſing, is at length exalted to belief. The ſoul, ſeeking refuge from its own apprehenſions, creates imaginary beings, by whoſe mediation it hopes to render itſelf leſs deſpicable in the ſight of the Supreme. To theſe its devotions are intruſted, and its adorations paid. We may lament the blindneſs of theſe poor ſavages, and exult in our own ſuperiority in this reſpect, but let us not forget, that in the moſt cultivated periods of the human underſtanding, (before the light of revelation was graciouſly diſplayed) a ſimilar ſuperſtition was practiſed by all the various nations of the heathen world; of which, not one perhaps had ſo ſtrong an apology to plead as the Charaibes.

 These

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THESE obſervations, however, extend only to the fair ſide of their religion, the worſhip of benevolent deities. A darker ſuperſtition likewiſe prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of theſe climates; for they not only believed in the exiſtence of demons and evil ſpirits, but offered to them alſo by the hands of their *Boyez*, or pretended magicians, ſacrifices and worſhip; wounding themſelves, on ſuch ſolemnities, with an inſtrument made of the teeth of the agouti *(d)*; which inflicted horrible gaſhes; conceiving, perhaps, that the malignant powers delighted in groans and miſery, and were to be appeaſed only by human blood *(e)*. I am of opinion, nevertheleſs, that even this latter ſpecies of idolatry originated in reverential piety, and an awful ſenſe of almighty power and infinite perfection. That we receive both good and evil at the hands of God, and that the Supreme Being is equally wiſe and benevolent in the diſpenſation of both, are truths which we are taught, as well by cultivated reaſon, as by holy writ; but they are truths, to the right apprehenſion of which uncivilized man was perhaps at all times incompetent. The ſavage, indeed, amidſt the deſtructive terrors of the

*(d)* See Chap. 4.
*(e)* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

hurricane

hurricane and the earthquake, might eaſily conclude that nothing leſs than Omnipotence itſelf, " viſiting the nations in his wrath," could thus harrow up the world; but the calamities of daily occurrence,—the various appearances of phyſical and moral evil which hourly embitter life, he dared not aſcribe to an all-perfect and merciful Being. To his limited conception, ſuch a concluſion was derogatory from divine juſtice, and irreconcileable with infinite wiſdom. To what then would he impute theſe terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure ſpirits and aereal demons? The profanations built on ſuch notions certainly throw a light on the Chriſtian religion, if they ſerve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin.

A MINUTE detail of the rites and ceremonies to which theſe, and other religious tenets, gave birth among the Charaibes, moſt of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illuſtration of their conformity to the ſuperſtitions of the Pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is ſuch a diſquiſition neceſſary. It is ſufficient for me to have ſhewn, that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a Deity, and the expectation of a future ſtate, (to borrow the expreſſion of an eloquent prelate) " are no leſs

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"conformable to the firſt natural apprehenſions "of the untutored mind, than to the ſoundeſt "principles of philoſophy *(e)*."

I HAVE thus ſelected and combined, from a maſs of diſcordant materials, a few ſtriking particulars in the character, manners and cuſtoms of the ancient inhabitants of the Charaibean Iſlands. The picture is not pleaſing; but, as I have elſewhere obſerved, it may lead to ſome important concluſions; for, beſides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are afloat in the world reſpecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonſtrate the abſurdity of that hypotheſis of ſome eminent philoſophers, which pronounces ſavage life the genuine ſource of unpolluted happineſs;—falſely deeming it a ſtate conformable to our nature, and conſtituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no eaſy taſk, as Rouſſeau obſerves, to diſcriminate properly between what is originally natural, and what is acquired, in the preſent conſtitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded, from the account I have given of the Charaibes; that they derived their furious and ſanguinary diſpoſition—not from the dictates of nature, but—from the perverſion and abuſe of ſome of her nobleſt endowments. Civilization

*(e)* Biſhop of Cheſter's Sermons.

and

and ſcience would not only have given them gentler manners, but probably have eradicated alſo many of their barbarous rites and gloomy ſuperſtitions, either by the introduction of a purer religion, or by giving energy and effect to thoſe latent principles, which I have ſhewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the neceſſity and benevolent efficacy of improved manners and ſocial intercourſe; conceiving that man by the cultivation of his reaſon, and the exerciſe of his faculties, alone anſwers the end of his creation, I am far from concurring with another claſs of philoſophers, who, widely differing from the former, conſider a ſtate of pure nature as a ſtate of unrelenting ferocity and reciprocal hoſtility; maintaining, that all the ſoft and tender affections are not originally implanted in us, but are ſuperinduced by education and reflection. A retroſpect to what has been related of the Charaibes will ſhew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where conſtituted a mild and a merciful being. It was by rigid diſcipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to ſuffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity the utmoſt exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by thoſe enormities of ſavage life, as they are ſuppreſſed by the cold

 unfeeling

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unfeeling apathy of philoſophical reſentment. To the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compaſſion and kindneſs are among the earlieſt propenſities of our nature, as that they conſtitute the chief ornament and the happineſs of it. Of this truth our next reſearches will furniſh a pleaſing example.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Natives of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.—Their Origin.—Numbers.—Perſons.—Genius and Diſpoſitions.—Government and Religion.—Miſcellaneous Obſervations reſpecting their Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture, Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.*

I AM now to give ſome account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hiſpaniola *(a)*, Cuba *(b)*, Jamaica, and

*(a) Hiſpaniola* was called by the natives *Haiti* or *Ayti*, which ſignifies mountainous; and I conceive the ſame word has the ſame meaning in the iſlands of the ſouth ſea.

*(b) Cuba* was the Indian name. It was not diſcovered to be an iſland until the year 1508, when a captain, named Sebaſtian, ſailed round it by order of Nicholas Ovando. It was firſt planted by the Spaniards in 1511; in that year Jago

 Velaſquez

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and Porto-Rico *(c)*; for there is no doubt that the inhabitants of all thoſe Iſlands were of one common origin,—ſpeaking the ſame language,—poſſeſſing the ſame inſtitutions, and practiſing ſimilar ſuperſtitions. Columbus himſelf treats of them as ſuch; and the teſtimony of many contemporary hiſtorians confirm his opinion. It appears likewiſe from the information of Las Caſas, the Biſhop of Chiapa, to the Emperor Charles V. that moſt of the natives of Trinidad *(d)* were of the ſame nation; the extent and natural ſtrength of that iſland, as of the others abovementioned, having protected them, in a great meaſure, from the depredations of the Charaibes.

I HAVE elſewhere related that they were conſidered by theſe Barbarians as deſcended from a Colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and

Velaſquez went thither with 300 men, and ſettled on the ſouth coaſt, near to a port which he called by his own name, (*Jago*, a name it ſtill bears) and which for extent and ſecurity may be reckoned one of the fineſt in the world.

*(c)* The Indian name of *Port-Rico* was *Boriquen*. It was diſcovered by Columbus in his ſecond voyage, but firſt explored by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1508.

*(d)* Trinidad was diſcovered by Columbus in his third voyage, and was named by him after the Holy Trinity, becauſe, ſays Herrera, having been in great danger, in a violent ſtorm, he made a vow to give that name to the firſt land he ſhould find; ſoon after which a ſailor, in the main-top, ſaw three points of land, whereby the name fitted every way to his vow.

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there can be no good reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Charaibes were miſinformed in this particular.— The evidence of Raleigh, and others who viſited both Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago, might be adduced in ſupport of their opinion. Theſe voyagers pronounce the ancient inhabitants of Trinidad to belong preciſely to the Arwacks or Arrowauk nation of the Continent; a race of Indians to whoſe noble qualities the moſt honourable teſtimony is borne by every traveller that has viſited them, and recorded his obſervations. And here, all enquiry concerning the origin of our iſlanders ſeems to terminate. It is indeed extremely probable that all the various nations of this part of the new world, except only the Charaibes, emigrated anciently from the great hive of the Mexican empire. Juan de Grijalva, one of the adventurers from Cuba in 1518, found a people who ſpoke the language of that iſland, on the coaſt of Jucatan *(e)*; but at what period ſuch emigrations were made; whether the Charaibes were previouſly poſſeſſed of the widely extended coaſt that bounds the Atlantick, or, in poſterior ages, accidentally found their way thither by ſea, from the ancient Continent— (perhaps by their invaſion giving birth to that hereditary and unconquerable hatred, which ſtill

*(e)* P. Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. x.

prevails

prevails between them and the other Indian nations)—theſe are points concerning which, as it is impoſſible to determine, it is in vain to enquire. CHAP. III.

In eſtimating the number of our iſlanders, when firſt diſcovered by Columbus, hiſtorians widely differ. Las Caſas computes them at ſix millions in the whole; but the natives of Hiſpaniola were reckoned by Oviedo at one million only, and by Martyr, who wrote on the authority of Columbus, at 1,200,000, and this laſt account is probably the moſt correct. Judging of the other iſlands by that, and ſuppoſing the population of each to be nearly the ſame in proportion to its extent, the whole number will fall greatly ſhort of the computation of Las Caſas. Perhaps if we fix on three millions, inſtead of ſix, as the total, we ſhall approach as near the truth as poſſible, on a queſtion that admits not of minute accuracy. Indeed ſuch are the accounts of the horrible carnage of theſe poor people by the Spaniards, that we are naturally led to hope their original numbers muſt have been greatly exaggerated; firſt by the aſſociates of Columbus, from a fond and excuſable propenſity to magnify the merit and importance of their diſcoveries, as undoubtedly they were afterwards by the worthy prelate I have quoted, in the warmth of his honeſt indignation at the bloody proceedings of his

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his countrymen: with whom, indeed, every man of a humane and reflecting mind, muft blufh to confefs himfelf of the fame nature and fpecies!

BUT, not to anticipate obfervations that will more properly appear hereafter, I fhall now proceed to the confideration,—I. Of their perfons and perfonal endowments: II. Their intellectual faculties and difpofitions: III. Their political inftitutions: IV. Their religious rites. Such fubordinate particulars as are not eafily reducible to either of thofe heads, will conclude the prefent chapter.

Perfons.

I. BOTH men and women wore nothing more than a flight covering of cotton cloth round the waift; but in the women it extended to the knees: the children of both fexes appeared entirely naked. In ftature they were taller, but lefs robuft than the Charaibes *(f)*. Their colour was a clear brown; not deeper, in general, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanifh peafant who has been much expofed to the wind and the fun *(g)*. Like the Charaibes, they altered the natural configuration of the head in infancy; but after a different mode *(h)*; and by

*(f)* Oviedo, Som.

*(g)* F. Col. c. xxiii.

*(h)* The *finciput*, or fore-part of the head from the eyebrows to the coronal future, was depreffed, which gave an unnatural thicknefs and elevation to the *occiput*, or hinder part of the fkull.

this

this practice, says Herrera, the crown was so strengthened that a Spanish broad-sword, instead of cleaving the skull at a stroke, would frequently break short upon it *(i)*; an illustration which gives an admirable idea of the clemency of their conquerors! Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unsightly; the face broad, and the nose flat; but their eyes streamed with good nature, and altogether there was something pleasing and inviting in the countenances of most of them, which proclaimed a frank and gentle disposition. It was an honest face, (says Martyr) coarse, but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence, and softened by compassion. CHAP. III.

MUCH has been suggested by modern philosophers, concerning a supposed feebleness in their persons and constitutions. They are represented to have been incapable of the smallest degree of labour, incurably indolent, and insensible even to the attractions of beauty, and the influence of love *(k)*. This wonderful debility and coldness have been attributed by some writers to a vegetable diet: by others, it is pretended that they derived from nature less appetite for food than the natives of Europe; but nothing can more

*(i)* Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi. who copies this circumstance from Oviedo.

*(k)* Robertson, Buffon, De Pauw, and others.

pointedly

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pointedly demonſtrate the indolent inattention of hiſtorians, than their combining theſe circumſtances in one and the ſame character. An inſenſibility, or contemptuous diſregard, towards the female ſex, was a feature peculiar to the Charaibes; who, however, as we have ſeen, were robuſt and vigorous in their perſons, and inſatiably voracious of food. It conſtituted no part of the diſpoſition of our iſlanders; amongſt whom an attachment to the ſex was remarkably conſpicuous. Love, with this happy people, was not a tranſient and youthful ardour only; but the ſource of all their pleaſures, and the chief buſineſs of life: for not being, like the Charaibes, oppreſſed by the weight of perpetual ſolicitude, and tormented by an unquenchable thirſt of revenge, they gave full indulgence to the inſtincts of nature, while the influence of the climate heightened the ſenſibility of the paſſions *(l)*.

In truth, an exceſſive ſenſuality was among the greateſt defects in their character: and to this cauſe alone is imputed, by ſome writers, the origin of that dreadful diſeaſe, with

*(l)* See Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. We have nearly the ſame account at this day of the Arrowauks of Guiana. "In their "natural diſpoſition" (ſays Bancroft) "they are amorous "and wanton;" and Barrere obſerves, "*ils ſont lubriques au* "*ſupreme dégré.*" It is related by Herrera, that a deity ſimilar to the Venus of antiquity, was one of the Divinities of the *Tlaſcalans*, a people of Mexico.

the

the infliction of which they have almoſt revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe:—if indeed the venereal contagion was firſt introduced into Spain from theſe iſlands; a concluſion to which, notwithſtanding all that has been written in ſupport of it, an atttentive enquirer will ſtill heſitate to ſubſcribe (*m*).

THAT

(*m*) "The venereal diſeaſe" (ſays Oviedo) "was certainly introduced into Europe from theſe iſlands, where "the beſt medicine for the cure of it, the *Guaiacum*, is alſo "found; the Almighty ſo remembering mercy in judgment "that, when our ſins provoke puniſhment, he ſends likewiſe "a remedy.—I was acquainted with many perſons who ac-"companied Columbus in his firſt and ſecond voyages, and "ſuffered of this diſeaſe: one of whom was Pedro Margarite, "a man much reſpected of the King and Queen. In the "year 1496 it began to ſpread in Europe, and the phyſicians "were wholly at a loſs in what manner to treat it.—When, "after this, Gonzales Fernandes de Cordova was ſent with "an army by his Catholick Majeſty on behalf of Ferdinand "the Second King of Naples, ſome infected perſons accom-"panied that army, and by intercourſe with the women, "ſpread the diſeaſe among the Italians and the French; "both which nations had ſucceſſively the honour of giving "it a name; but in truth it came originally from Hiſpaniola, "where it was very common, as was likewiſe the remedy."

This account is ſufficiently particular; nevertheleſs there is reaſon to believe that the venereal infection was known in Europe many centuries before the diſcovery of America; although it is poſſible it might have broke out with renewed violence about the time of Columbus's return from his firſt expedition.—This was the era of wonder, and probably the infrequency of the contagion before that period, gave colour to a report, perhaps at firſt maliciouſly propagated by ſome

who

BOOK I.

That a people who possessed the means of gratifying every inclination without labour, should sometimes incline to be indolent, is a circumstance not very extraordinary. As the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously, and no covering was absolutely requisite but the shade, that necessity which urges men to action, and, by exercise, invigorates the fibres, was here wholly unknown. It is probable therefore that in muscular strength the natives were inferior to their invaders, and being less accustomed to labour, they might also require less nourishment. These conclusions may be admitted without supposing any degradation of their nature, and

who envied the success of Columbus, *that this disease was one of the fruits of his celebrated enterprize*. It is impossible, in the space of a marginal note, to enter deeply into this subject; neither does the full investigation of it come within the design of my work. I therefore refer such of my readers as are desirous of forming a decided opinion on the question, to the Philos. Transactions, vol. xxvii. and vol. xxxi. (No. 365 and No. 11) also to two learned treatises on the subject by Mr. Sanches, published at Paris 1772 and 1774, and to the authorities referred to by Mr. Foster in his "Observations made during a Voyage round the World," p. 492. ☞ In Stow's Survey of London, vol. ii. p. 7. is preserved a copy of the rules or regulations established by Parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Second, for the government of the licensed stews in Southwark, among which I find the following, "No stewholder to keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of burning." This was 330 years before the voyage of Columbus.

with

with no very unfavourable impreſſion of the climate. Their limbs however were pliant and active, and in their motions they diſplayed both gracefulneſs and eaſe. Their agility was eminently conſpicuous in their dances; wherein they delighted and excelled; devoting the cool hours of night to this employment *(n)*. It was their cuſtom, ſays Herrera, to dance from evening to the dawn; and although fifty thouſand men and women were frequently aſſembled together on theſe occaſions, they ſeemed actuated by one common impulſe, keeping time by reſponſive motions of their hands, feet, and bodies, with an exactneſs that was wonderful *(o)*. Theſe public dances (for they had others highly licentious) were appropriated to particular ſolemnities, and being accompanied with hiſtorical ſongs, were called *Arietoes*; a ſingular feature in their political inſtitutions, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak.

Besides the exerciſe of dancing, another diverſion was prevalent among them which they called *Bato*; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spaniſh hiſtorians *(p)*, that it had a diſtant reſemblance to the Engliſh game of cricket; for the players were divided into two parties,

*(n)* P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii.
*(o)* Herrera, lib. ix. c. ii.
*(p)* Oviedo, lib. vi. c. ii. Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv.

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Intellects. II. They are, neverthelefs, pronounced by many writers, to have been naturally inferior to the natives of Europe, not only in bodily ſtrength, but likewiſe in genius and mental endowments. This aſſertion has I think been advanced with more confidence than proof. That the mind, like the body, acquires ſtrength by employment, is indeed a truth which we all acknowledge, becauſe we all experience it; and it requires no great ſagacity to diſcover, that ingenuity is ſeldom very powerfully exerted to gratify appetites which do not exiſt, or to guard againſt inconveniences which are not felt. If our iſlanders therefore roſe in ſome reſpects to a degree of refinement not often obſervable in ſavage life, it may juſtly be preſumed that in a ſtate of ſociety productive of new deſires and artificial neceſſities, their capacities would have been ſuſceptible of ſtill further improvement. Their ſituation alone, without

recurring

recurring to the various other causes assigned by philosophers, sufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Men, without anxiety for the future, have little reflection on the past. What they wanted in excited energy of mind, was however abundantly supplied by the softer affections; by sweetness of temper, and native goodness of disposition. All writers who have treated of their character, agree that they were unquestionably the most gentle and benevolent of the human race. Though not blessed with the light of revelation, they practised one of the noblest precepts of Christianity, forgiveness of their enemies: laying all that they possessed at the feet of their oppressors; courting their notice, and preventing their wishes, with such fondness and assiduity, as one would have thought might have disarmed habitual cruelty, and melted bigotry into tenderness *(q)*.

CHAP. III.

Among other instances of their generous and compassionate turn of mind, the following is not the least remarkable. Soon after Columbus's first arrival at Hispaniola, one of his ships was wrecked on the coast. The natives, scorning to derive advantage to themselves from the distress of the strangers (unconscious indeed of the cala-

*(q)* Martyr. Herrera. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

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mities which their arrival was ſoon to bring upon them) beheld the accident with the livelieſt emotions of ſorrow, and haſtened to their relief. A thouſand canoes were inſtantly in motion, buſily employed in conveying the ſeamen and cargo aſhore; by which timely aſſiſtance, not a life was loſt; and of the goods and proviſions that were ſaved from the wreck, not the ſmalleſt article was embezzled. Such was their celerity and good will on this occaſion, ſays Martyr, that no friend for friend, or brother for brother, in diſtreſs, could have manifeſted ſtronger tokens of ſympathy and pity *(r)*, Other hiſtorians ſtill heighten the picture; for they relate that Guacanahari, the ſovereign of that part of the country, perceiving that, notwithſtanding the efforts of his people, the ſhip itſelf, and great part of the cargo were irrecoverably ſunk, waited on Columbus to condole with him on the occaſion; and while this poor Indian lamented his misfortune in terms which excited ſurprize and admiration, he offered the Admiral (the tears flowing copiouſly down his cheeks as he ſpoke) all that he himſelf poſſeſſed, in reparation of his loſs *(s)*.

THIS benevolence, unexampled in the hiſtory

*(r)* Martyr, Decad. i. lib. i.

*(s)* Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

of

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of civilized nations, was ſoon baſely requited by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus, unfortunately, left in the iſland, on his departure for Europe. Guacanahari however was covered with wounds in defending them from his injured countrymen *(t)*; to whoſe juſt reſentment the Spaniſh ruffians at length fell a ſacrifice; but their anger was of ſhort duration. On Columbus's return, in his ſecond voyage, their fondneſs revived; and for a conſiderable time the Spaniards lived among them in perfect ſecurity, exploring the interior parts of the country, both in companies and individually, not only without moleſtation, but invited thereto by the natives. When any of the Spaniards came near to a village, the moſt ancient and venerable of the Indians, or the Cacique himſelf, if preſent, came out to meet them, and gently conducted them into their habitations, ſeated them on ſtools of ebony curiouſly ornamented. Theſe benches ſeem to have been ſeats of honour reſerved for their gueſts;—for the Indians threw themſelves on the ground, and kiſſing the hands and feet of the Spaniards, offered them fruits and the choiceſt of their viands; entreating them to prolong their ſtay, with ſuch ſolicitude and reverence as demonſtrated that they conſidered them as beings of a ſuperior nature, whoſe preſence conſecrated

*(t)* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.

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their dwellings, and brought a bleſſing with it *(u)*.

The reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, in the abſence of the Admiral, afterwards met with, in his progreſs through the iſland to levy tributes from the ſeveral Caciques or Princes, manifeſted not only kindneſs and ſubmiſſion, but on many occaſions munificence, and even a high degree of politeneſs. Theſe Caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerneſs of the ſtrangers for gold; and ſuch of them as poſſeſſed any of this precious metal, willingly preſented all that they had to the Deputy Governor. Others, who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought proviſions and cotton in great abundance *(x)*.—Among the latter, was Behechio, a powerful Cacique, who invited the Lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions; and the entertainment which they received from this hoſpitable chief is thus deſcribed by Martyr. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty, carrying branches of the palmtree in their hands; who firſt ſaluted the Spaniards with a ſolemn dance, accompanied with a general ſong. Theſe

*(u)* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.
*(x)* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

matrons

matrons were ſucceeded by a train of virgins, diſtinguiſhed as ſuch by their appearance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied ſimply with a fillet over their foreheads, or ſuffered to flow gracefully on their ſhoulders and boſoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were ſmooth, ſhining and lovely. The Spaniards were ſtruck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods, and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeiſance to the Lieutenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful, and, according to the Indian mode of living, a ſplendid repaſt already provided. As night approached, the Spaniards were conducted to ſeparate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they were again entertained with dancing and ſinging. This was followed by matches of wreſtling, and running for prizes; after which two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement enſued; exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibes. For three days were the Spaniards thus

BOOK I.

Political inftitutions.

royally entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

III. The fubmiffive and refpectful deportment of thefe placid people towards their fuperiors, and thofe they confidered as fuch, was derived probably, in fome degree, from the nature of their government; which, contrary to that of the Charaibes under a fimilar climate, was monarchical and even abfolute. The regal authority however, though not circumfcribed by pofitive inftitutions, was tempered into great mildnefs, by that conftitutional benevolence which predominated throughout every part of their conduct, from the higheft to the loweft. The fympathy which they manifefted towards the diftrefs of others, proves that they were not wretched themfelves; for in a ftate of abfolute flavery and mifery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity.

Their Kings, as we have feen, were called Caciques, and their power was hereditary:— But there were alfo fubordinate Chieftains, o Princes, who were tributaries to the Sovereign of each diftrict. Thus the territory in Hifpaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain of Leogane to the Weftermoft part of the ifland, was the kingdom of the Cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no lefs than thirty-two inferior

inferior chieftains or nobles had jurifdiction within that fpace of country, who were accountable to the fupreme authority of Behechio *(y)*. They feem to have fomewhat refembled the ancient barons or feudatories of Europe; holding their poffeffions by the tenure of fervice. Oviedo relates, that they were under the obligation of perfonally attending the Sovereign, both in peace and war, whenever commanded fo to do *(z)*. It is to be lamented, that the Spanifh hiftorians afford very little information concerning this order of nobles, or the nature and extent of their fubordinate jurifdiction.

THE whole ifland of Hifpaniola was divided into five great kingdoms *(a)*; of two of which, when Columbus firft landed, Guacanahari and Behechio were abfolute fovereigns.—A third principal Cacique was Cuanaboa, whofe hiftory is remarkable: He had been originally a War Captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and, on condition of preventing the further incurfions of his countrymen, had received his fifter, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a

*(y)* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

*(z)* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

*(a)* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

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ſeparate kingdom. The eſtabliſhment of this leader and his followers in Hiſpaniola, had introduced into this part of the iſland the Charaibean language, and alſo the uſe of the bow and arrow *(b)*; a weapon with the practice of which the natives of the larger iſlands were generally unacquainted. Cuanaboa however ſtill retained his ferocious diſpoſition, and having been accuſed by Guacanahari before Chriſtopher Columbus, of murdering ſome of the Spaniards, was ordered by that commander to be ſent to Spain: but the ſhip periſhed at ſea. The ſad fate of his unfortunate widow, the innocent Anacoana, who was moſt atrociouſly murdered in 1505, by Ovando, the Governor of Hiſpaniola, for no cauſe, that I can diſcover, but her fond attachment to Bartholomew Columbus, having been related at large in the late American hiſtory, need not be repeated here.

The iſlands of Cuba and Jamaica were divided, like Hiſpaniola, into many principalities or kingdoms; but we are told that the whole extent of Porto Rico was ſubject to one Cacique only *(c)*. It has been remarked, that the dignity of theſe Chieftains was hereditary; but if Martyr is to be credited, the law of ſucceſſion among them, was different from that of all other people;

*(b)* Oviedo, lib. iii.

*(c)* P. Martyr, Decad. i lib. ii.

for

for he obſerves *(d)*, that the Caciques bequeathed the ſupreme authority to the children of their ſiſters, according to ſeniority, diſinheriting their own offspring; "being certain," adds Martyr, "that, by this policy, they preferred the blood "royal; which might not happen to be the caſe, "in advancing any of the children of their nu-"merous wives." The relation of Oviedo is ſomewhat different, and ſeems more probable: he remarks, that one of the wives of each Cacique was particularly diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, and appears to have been conſidered by the people at large as the reigning Queen *(e)*; that the children of this lady, according to priority of birth, ſucceeded to the father's honours; but, in default of iſſue by the favourite Princeſs, the ſiſters of the Cacique, if there were no ſurviving brothers, took place of the Cacique's own children by his other wives. Thus Anacoana, on the death of Behechio her brother, became Queen of Xaraguay *(f)*. It is obvious that this regulation was intended to prevent the miſchiefs of a diſputed ſucceſſon, among children whoſe pretenſions were equal.

The principal Cacique was diſtinguiſhed by regal ornaments, and numerous attendants. In

*(d)* Decad. iii. c. ix. *(e)* Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.
*(f)* Herrera, lib. vi. c. ii.

travelling

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travelling through his dominions, he was commonly borne on men's ſhoulders, after a manner very much reſembling the uſe of the palanqueen in the Eaſt Indies *(g)*. According to Martyr *(h)*, he was regarded by all his ſubjects with ſuch reverence, as even exceeded the bounds of nature and reaſon; for if he ordered any of them to caſt themſelves headlong from a high rock, or to drown themſelves in the ſea, alledging no cauſe but his ſovereign pleaſure, he was obeyed without a murmur; oppoſition to the ſupreme authority, being conſidered, not only as unavailing, but impious.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the Prince; it was extended to his memory after death; a proof that his authority, however extravagant, was ſeldom abuſed. When a Cacique died, his body was embowelled, and dried in an oven, moderately heated; ſo that the bones and even the ſkin were preſerved entire *(i)*. The corpſe was then placed in a cave with thoſe of his anceſtors, this being (obſerves Oviedo) among theſe ſimple people the only ſyſtem of heraldry; whereby they intended to render, not the name alone, but the perſons alſo, of

*(g)* Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi.
*(h)* Martyr, Decad. i. c. i.
*(i)* Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii. F. Columbus, c. lxi.

their

their worthies immortal. If a Cacique was ſlain in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they compoſed ſongs in his praiſe, which they taught their children; a better and nobler teſtimony ſurely, than heaps of dry bones or even monuments of marble; ſince memorials to the deceaſed are, or ought to be, intended leſs in honour of the dead, than as incitements to the living *(k)*. CHAP. III.

THESE heroick effuſions conſtituted a branch of thoſe ſolemnities, which, as hath been obſerved, were called *Arietoes*; conſiſting of hymns and publick dances, accompanied with muſical inſtruments made of ſhells, and a ſort of drum, the ſound of which was heard at a vaſt diſtance *(l)*.

*(k)* It is related by Martyr, that on the death of a Cacique, the moſt beloved of his wives was immolated at his funeral. Thus he obſerves that Anacaona, on the death of her brother King Behechio, ordered a very beautiful woman, whoſe name was Guanahata Benechina, to be buried alive in the cave where his body (after being dried as above mentioned) was depoſited*. But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this cuſtom was general among them†. Anacaona, who had been married to a Charaibe, probably adopted the practice from the account ſhe had received from her huſband of his national cuſtoms. And it is not impoſſible, under a female adminiſtration,—*among ſavages*,—but that the extraordinary beauty of the unfortunate victim, contributed to her diſtruction.

* Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. ix. † Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

*(l)* Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv. P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii. F. Columbus.

These

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Theſe hymns, reciting the great actions of the departed Cacique; his fame in war, and his gentleneſs in peace, formed a national hiſtory *(m)*, which was at once a tribute of gratitude to the deceaſed monarch, and a leſſon to the living. Nor could any thing have been more inſtructive to the riſing generation than this inſtitution, ſince it comprehended alſo the antiquities of their country, and the traditions of their anceſtors. Expreſſions of national triumph for victory in war, lamentations in times of publick calamity, the voice of feſtivity, and the language of love, were likewiſe the ſubjects of theſe exhibitions; the dances, ſo eſſential a part of them, being grave or gay as the occaſion required. It is pretended that among the traditions thus publickly recited, there was one of a prophetick nature, denouncing ruin and deſolation by the arrival of ſtrangers compleatly clad, and armed with the lightning of heaven. The ceremonies which were obſerved when this awful prediction was repeated, we may well believe were ſtrongly expreſſive of lamentation and horror *(n)*.

Religious rites.

IV. Like all other unenlightened nations, theſe poor Indians were indeed the ſlaves of ſuperſtition. Their general theology (for they had an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, and a prieſthood to ſup-

*(m)* Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

*(n)* Martyr, ut ſupra. Herrera, lib. ii. c. iv.

port

*B. West delin.t* *F. Bartolozzi sculp.t*

An INDIAN CACIQUE of the ISLAND of CUBA, addrefsing COLUMBUS concerning a future state.

*Publish'd Nov.r 18. 1794 by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.*

port it) was a medley of groſs folly and childiſh traditions, the progeny of ignorance and terror. Yet we are ſometimes dazzled with a ſtrong ray of ſunſhine in the midſt of ſurrounding darkneſs. Hiſtorians have preſerved a remarkable ſpeech of a venerable old man, a native of Cuba, who, approaching Chriſtopher Columbus with great reverence, and preſenting a baſket of fruit, addreſſed him as follows. "Whether you are "divinities," (he obſerved) "or mortal men, "we know not. You are come into theſe "countries with a force, againſt which, were we "inclined to reſiſt it, reſiſtance would be folly. "We are all therefore at your mercy; but if "you are men, ſubject to mortality like our-"ſelves, you cannot be unapprized, that after "this life there is another, wherein a very different "portion is allotted to good and bad men. If "therefore you expect to die, and believe with "us, that every one is to be rewarded in a "future ſtate, according to his conduct in the "preſent, you will do no hurt to thoſe, who do "none to you *(o)*."

THEIR

*(o)* This remarkable circumſtance happened on the 7th of July 1494, and is atteſted by Pet. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii. and by Herrera, lib. ii. c. xiv. If it be aſked how Columbus underſtood the Cacique, the anſwer is, that he had carried with him to Spain, in his former voyage, ſeveral of the Indians; one of whom, a native of Guanahani, who had remained with

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THEIR notions of future happineſs ſeem however to have been narrow and ſenſual. They ſuppoſed that the ſpirits of good men were conveyed to a pleaſant valley, which they called *Coyaba*; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with delicious fruits, cool ſhades, and murmuring rivulets *(p)*; in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt. In this ſeat of bliſs (the Elyſium of antiquity) they believed that their greateſt enjoyment would ariſe from the company of their departed anceſtors, and of thoſe perſons who were dear to them in life *(q)*;—a proof at leaſt of their filial piety, and of the warmth and tenderneſs of their affections and diſpoſitions.

THE conſciouſneſs in our Indians that they were accountable beings, ſeems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the New Hemiſphere. Although, like the Charaibes, our iſlanders acknowledged a plurality of Gods, like them too, they believed in the exiſtence of one ſupreme, inviſible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator; whom they named *Jocahuna (r)*. But unhap-

with him from October 1492, had acquired the Spaniſh language. This man, whoſe name was *Didacus*, ſerved him on this and other occaſions, both as a guide and interpreter.

*(p)* Fer. Col. c. lxi. *(q)* Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii.
*(r)* Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus.

pily, with theſe important truths, theſe poor people blended the moſt puerile and extravagant fancies, which were neither founded in rational piety, nor productive of moral obligation. They aſſigned to the ſupreme Being, a father and mother, whom they diſtinguiſhedy by a variety of names, and they ſuppoſed the ſun and moon to be the chief ſeats of their reſidence (s). Their ſyſtem of idol-worſhip was, at the ſame time, more lamentable than even that of the Charaibes; for it would ſeem that they paid divine honours to ſtocks and ſtones converted into images, which they called *Zemi*; not regarding theſe idols as ſymbolical repreſentations only of their ſubordinate divinities, and uſeful as ſenſible objects, to awaken the memory and animate devotion, but aſcribing divinity to the material itſelf, and actually worſhipping the rude ſtone or block which their own hands had faſhioned. It may be obſerved, however, that an equal degree of folly prevailed among people much more enlightened. The Egyptians themſelves, the moſt ancient of civilized nations, worſhipped various kinds of animals, and repreſentations of animals, ſome of them the moſt noxious in nature; and even the accompliſhed philoſophers of Greece and Rome paid divine honours to men to whom they had

(s) F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni.

themſelves

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themselves given an apotheosis.—So nearly allied, in religious researches, is the blindness of untutored nature, to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason!

It has indeed been asserted (whether justly or not) that "the superstitions of Paganism always wore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue *(t)*;" but the theology of our poor islanders bore a different aspect. By a lamentable inconsistency in the human mind, they considered the Creator of all things as wholly regardless of the work of his hands; and as having transferred the government of the world to subordinate and malignant beings, who delighted in converting into *evil*, that which HE pronounced to be *good*. The effusions of gratitude, the warmth of affection, the confidence of hope, formed no part of their devotions. Their idols were universally hideous and frightful, sometimes representing toads and other odious reptiles; but more frequently the human face horribly distorted;—a proof that they considered them, not as benevolent, but evil, powers;—as objects of terror,—not of admiration and love.

To keep alive this sacred and awful prejudice in the minds of the multitude, and heighten its influence, their *Bohitos* or Priests, appropriated a

*(t)* Gibbon.

confecrated houfe in each village, wherein the Zemi was invoked and worfhipped. Nor was it permitted to the people at large, at all times, to enter, and on unimportant occafions approach the dread object of their adoration. The Bohitos undertook to be their meffengers and interpreters, and by the efficacy of their prayers to avert the dangers which they dreaded. The ceremonies exhibited on thefe folemnities, were well calculated to extend the prieftly dominion, and confirm the popular fubjection. In the fame view, the Bohitos added to their holy profeffion, the practice of phyfick, and they claimed likewife the privilege of educating the children of the firft rank of people *(u)*; — a combination of influence which, extending to the neareft and deareft concerns both of this life and the next, rendered their authority irrefiftible.

With fuch power in the priefthood, it may well be fuppofed, that the alliance between church and ftate, was not lefs intimate in thefe iflands, than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations, religion was here made the inftrument of civil defpotifm, and the will of the Cacique, if confirmed by the Prieft, was impioufly pronounced the decree of heaven. Columbus relates, that fome of his people enter-

*(u)* Martyr.

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The reader, I believe, will readily acquit me for declining to enter into any further detail of the various wild notions, and fantaſtical rites which were founded on ſuch arts and impoſtures. Happily for our iſlanders, however, the general ſyſtem of their ſuperſtition, though not amiable, was not cruel. We find among them but few of thoſe barbarous ceremonies which filled the Mexican temples with pollution, and the ſpectators with horror. They were even more fortunate in this reſpect than the otherwiſe happy inhabitants of the lately diſcovered iſlands in the Southern Pacifick Ocean; amongſt whom the practice of offering human ſacrifices to their deities, is ſtill dreadfully prevalent, as it

it anciently was amongſt moſt of the nations of the earth.

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Miſcellaneous obſervations.

Having thus mentioned the natives of the South-Sea Iſlands, I cannot but advert to the wonderful ſimilarity obſervable in many reſpects, between our ill-fated Weſt Indians and that placid people. The ſame frank and affectionate temper, the ſame chearful ſimplicity, gentleneſs and candour ;—a behaviour, devoid of meanneſs and treachery, of cruelty and revenge, are apparent in the character of both ;—and although placed at ſo great a diſtance from each other, and divided by the intervention of the American Continent, we may trace a reſemblance even in many of their cuſtoms and inſtitutions; their national ſongs and dances, their domeſtick œconomy, their ſyſtem of government, and their funeral ceremonies. I pretend not, however, to affirm that this reſemblance is ſo exact, as to create the preſumption of a common origin. The affinity perceivable in the diſpoſitions and virtues of theſe widely ſeparated tribes, aroſe probably from a ſimilarity in their circumſtances and ſituation, operating on the general principles of human nature. Placed alike in a happy medium between ſavage life, properly ſo called, and the refinements of poliſhed ſociety, they are found equally exempt from the ſordid corporeal diſtreſſes and ſanguinary paſſions of the former ſtate,

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and from the artificial neceſſities, the reſtraints and ſolicitudes of the latter. To a ſpeculative mind, ſuch a ſituation may appear, for a moment, even ſuperior to our own; "but if we "admit" (ſays the elegant hiſtorian of the amiable Otaheiteans) "that they are upon the whole "happier than we, we muſt admit that the child "is happier than the man, and that we are loſers "by the perfection of our nature, the increaſe of "our knowledge, and the enlargement of our "views *(x)*."

In thoſe inventions and arts which, varying the enjoyments, add conſiderably to the value of life, I believe the Otaheiteans were in general ſomewhat behind our iſlanders: in agriculture they were particularly ſo *(y)*. The great ſupport

*(x)* Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

*(y)* Dr. Robertſon, in his Hiſtory of America, vol. i. p. 332, obſerves, that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the uſe of the metals, their agriculture muſt neceſſarily have been imperfect. It ſhould however be remembered, that as every family raiſed corn for their own ſupport, and the iſlands being (to uſe the expreſſion of Las Caſas) "abounding with inhabitants *as an ant-hill with ants*," a very ſmall portion of ground allotted to the maintenance of each family, would comprehend in the aggregate an immenſe ſpace of cultivated country. Thus we find Bartholomew Columbus obſerving, that the fields about Zabraba, a country in the Gulph of Darien, which he viewed in 1503, "were all covered with maize, like the corn fields of Europe, "*for above ſix leagues together*." Unacquainted with the ſoil of

port of the insular territories of the South-Sea consists of the bread-fruit, and the plantain; both which flourish there spontaneously; and although the inhabitants have likewise plantations of yams and other esculent roots, yet the cultivation of none of them appears to be as extensive, as was that of the maize in the West Indies, or to display equal skill with the preparation of the cassavi-bread from the maniock *(z)*. The West Indians, CHAP. III.

of the West Indies, Dr. Robertson should have delivered his sentiments on this subject with diffidence. That soil which is known in these islands by the name of *brick-mould*, is not only superior to most others in fertility, but requires very little trouble in cultivation. Among our islanders, to whom the use of iron was unknown, instruments were ingeniously formed of stone, and of a certain species of durable wood, which were endued with nearly equal solidity and sharpness. We find them felling large trees, building canoes and houses, and forming domestick utensils of exquisite workmanship. Possessing the tools and materials necessary for these purposes, they could not be destitute of proper implements for the ruder operations of husbandry, on a soil incapable of much resistance.

*(z)* L'Abbe Raynal, in opposition to the testimony of all the early Spanish historians who have treated of the discovery and productions of America (none of whom indeed does he appear to have consulted) asserts that the *maniock plant* was originally introduced into the West Indies from Africa, and that the Indians were first instructed by the negroes in the art of converting the poisonous root into wholesome food. For the satisfaction of such of my readers as are not intimately acquainted with the American History, I think it necessary to observe, that P. Martyr, in his first Decad, which bears date Novem-

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Indians, notwithſtanding that they poſſeſſed almoſt every variety of vegetable nature which grew in the countries I have mentioned, the bread fruit excepted, raiſed alſo both the maize and the maniock in great abundance; and they had acquired the ſkill of watering their lands from diſtant rivers, in time of drought *(a)*. It may likewiſe be obſerved, that although the Otaheiteans poſſeſs the ſhrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it by culture, nor have the knowledge of converting its wool into cloth *(b)*; but content themſelves with a far meaner production as a ſubſtitute. Our iſlanders had not only the ſkill of making excellent cloth from their cotton, but they practiſed alſo the art of dying it with a variety of colours; ſome of them of the utmoſt brilliancy and beauty *(c)*.

In the ſcience of ſhip-building (if the conſtruction of ſuch veſſels as either people uſed, may be diſtinguiſhed with that appellation) the ſuperi-

ber, 1493, ſeven months only after the return of Columbus from his firſt voyage, particularly mentions the maniock, or *jucca*, as furniſhing great part of the food of the iſlanders, and he deſcribes their manner of making the *caſſavi* bread from it; obſerving that the raw juice is as ſtrong a poiſon as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the iſlands till many years after this account was publiſhed.

*(a)* Martyr, Decad. iii.

*(b)* Forſter's Obſervations.

*(c)* Oviedo, Purchas, vol. iii. p. 985.

ority

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ority is on the ſide of Otaheite; yet the *Piraguas* of the Weſt Indians were fully ſufficient for the navigation they were employed in, and indeed were by no means contemptible ſea-boats. We are told that ſome of theſe veſſels were navigated with forty oars *(d)*; and Herrera relates, that Bartholomow Columbus, in paſſing through the Gulph of Honduras, fell in with one that was eight feet in breadth, and in length equal to a Spaniſh galley. Over the middle was an awning, compoſed of mats and palm-tree leaves; underneath which were diſpoſed the women and children, ſecured both from rain and the ſpray of the ſea.—It was laden with commodities from Jucatan *(e)*.

On the other hand, our iſlanders far ſurpaſſed the people of Otaheite, in the elegance and variety of their domeſtick utenſils and furniture; their earthenware, curiouſly woven beds, and implements of huſbandry. Martyr ſpeaks with admiration of the workmanſhip of ſome of the former of theſe. In the account he gives of a magnificient donation from Anacoana to Bartho-

*(d)* Martyr, Decad. i.

*(e)* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. v. Theſe veſſels were built either of cedar, or the great cotton-tree hollowed, and made ſquare at each end like punts. Their gunnels were raiſed with canes braced cloſe, and ſmeared over with ſome bituminous ſubſtance to render them water-tight, and they had ſharp keels. P. Martyr, Decad.

 lomew

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lomew Columbus, on his firſt viſit to that Princeſs, he obſerves that, among other valuables, ſhe preſented him with fourteen chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, and no leſs than ſixty veſſels of different ſorts, for the uſe of his kitchen and table, all of which were ornamented with figures of various kinds, fantaſtick forms, and accurate repreſentations of living animals *(f)*. The induſtry and ingenuity of our Indians therefore muſt have greatly exceeded the meaſure of their wants. Having provided for the neceſſities of their condition, they proceeded to improve and adorn it.

But I muſt now leave them to the miſerable fate in which it pleaſed infinite, but inſcrutable, wiſdom to permit their mercileſs invaders to involve them for ever!—It may, I think, be ſafely affirmed, that the whole ſtory of mankind affords no ſcene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exerciſed on theſe innocent and inoffenſive people. All the murders and deſolations of the moſt pitileſs tyrants that ever diverted themſelves with the pangs and convulſions of their fellow-creatures, fall infinitely ſhort of the bloody enormities committed by the Spaniſh nation in the conqueſt of the New World;—a conqueſt, on a low eſtimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the ſpecies! But although the ac-

*(f)* P. Martyr, Decad. i.

counts

counts which are tranſmitted down to us of this dreadful carnage, are authenticated beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, the mind, ſhrinking from the contemplation, wiſhes to reſiſt conviction, and to relieve itſelf by incredulity.—Such at leaſt is the apology which I would frame for the author of the American Hiſtory, when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate ſuch horrible wickedneſs *(g)*. Yet the ſame author admits, that in the ſhort interval of fifteen years ſubſequent to the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hiſpaniola "from a million to ſixty thouſand *(h)*." It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleneſs of theſe poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a conſtitutional defect, if it exiſted, entitled them to greater lenity; CHAP. III.

*(g)* Introduction to the Hiſtory of America, by Dr. Robertſon, vol. i. p. 10. "It is to be hoped" (ſays this author) "that the Spaniards will at laſt diſcover this ſyſtem of conceal-"ment to be no leſs impolitick than illiberal. From what "I have experienced in the courſe of my enquiries, I am "ſatisfied, that upon a more minute ſcrutiny into their early "operations in the New World, however REPREHENSIBLE" (a tender expreſſion) "the actions of individuals may appear, "the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favour-"ble light." This opinion, however, needs no other refutation than that which is to be found in the ſubſequent pages of the learned Author's Hiſtory.

*(h)* Hiſtory of America, vol. i. book iii. p. 185.

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lenity; but the Spaniards diſtributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without reſt or intermiſſion, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their ſufferings. Such as attempted reſiſtance or eſcape, their mercileſs tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their fleſh. They diſregarded ſex and age, and with impious and frantick bigotry even called in religion to ſanctify their cruelties! Some, more zealous than the reſt, forced their miſerable captives into the water, and after adminiſtering to them the rite of baptiſm, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apoſtacy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apoſtles! Nor were theſe the exceſſes only of a blind and remorſeleſs fanaticiſm, which exciting our abhorrence, excites alſo our pity: The Spaniards were actuated in many inſtances by ſuch wantonneſs of malice, as is wholly unexampled in the wide hiſtory of human depravity. —Martyr relates, that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians of Hiſpaniola in ſport, or merely, he obſerves, *to keep their hands in uſe.* They had an emulation which of them could moſt dexterouſly ſtrike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this helliſh exerciſe *(i)*. To fill up

*(i)* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. vii.

the

the meaſure of this iniquity, and demonſtrate to the world, that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the Court of Spain not only neglected to puniſh theſe enormities in its ſubjects, but when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purpoſes, by the utter extirpation of the natives of Hiſpaniola, the King gave permiſſion to ſeize on the unſuſpecting inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands, and tranſport them to periſh in the mines of St. Domingo. " Several veſſels" (ſays Dr. Robertſon) " were " fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of " which informed the natives, with whoſe language " they were now well acquainted, that they came " from a delicious country, in which their departed anceſtors reſided, by whom they were ſent to " invite them to reſort thither, to partake of the " bliſs which they enjoyed. That ſimple people liſtened with wonder and credulity, and " fond of viſiting their relations and friends in " that happy region, followed the Spaniards with " eagerneſs. By this artifice, above 40,000 were " decoyed into Hiſpaniola, to ſhare in the ſufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants " of that iſland, and to mingle their groans and " tears with thoſe of that wretched race of " men *(k)*." After reading theſe accounts, who

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*(k)* Hiſtory of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewiſe P. Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following affecting

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who can help forming an indignant wiſh that the hand of Heaven, by ſome miraculous interpo-

affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently decoyed from their native countries. "Many of them in "the anguiſh of deſpair, obſtinately refuſe all manner of "ſuſtenance, and retiring to deſert caves and unfrequented "woods, ſilently give up the ghoſt. Others, repairing to the "ſea-coaſt on the northern ſide of Hiſpaniola, caſt many a "longing look towards that part of the ocean where they "ſuppoſe their own iſlands to be ſituated; and as the ſea-"breeze riſes, they eagerly inhale it; fondly believing, that it "has lately viſited their own happy vallies, and comes fraught "with the breath of thoſe they love, their wives and "their children. With this idea, they continue for hours "on the coaſt, until nature becomes utterly exhauſted; "when ſtretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if "to take a laſt embrace of their diſtant country and relations, "they ſink down, and expire without a groan."—"One of "the Lucayans" (continues the ſame author) "who was "more deſirous of life, or had greater courage than moſt of "his countrymen, took upon him a bold and difficult piece "of work. Having been uſed to build cottages in his native "country, he procured inſtruments of ſtone, and cut down "a large ſpongy tree called *jaruma**, the body of which he "dexterouſly ſcooped into a canoe. He then provided "himſelf with oars, ſome Indian corn, and a few gourds of "water, and prevailed on another man and a woman to em-"bark with him on a voyage to the Lucayos Iſlands. "Their navigation was proſperous for near 200 miles, and "they were almoſt within ſight of their own long-loſt ſhores, "when unfortunately they were met by a Spaniſh ſhip, "which brought them back to ſlavery and ſorrow. The "canoe is ſtill preſerved in Hiſpaniola as a ſingular curio-"ſity, conſidering the circumſtances under which it was "made."

* The *bombax*, or wild cotton tree.

ſition,

ſition, had ſwept theſe European tyrants from the face of the earth, who, like ſo many beaſts of prey, roamed round the world only to deſolate and deſtroy; and, more remorſeleſs than the fierceſt ſavage, thirſted for human blood, without having the impulſe of natural appetite to plead in their defence!

On the whole, if we conſider of how little benefit the acquiſition of theſe iſlands has ſince proved to the Spaniſh nation, and count over the coſt of the conqueſt, we muſt find it extremely difficult to include ſuch an event as the maſſacre of ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongſt the number of thoſe partial evils which ultimately terminate in general good: Nor can we poſſibly reconcile its permiſſion to our limited ideas of infinite wiſdom and goodneſs! Divines therefore juſtly conclude, that no ſtronger proof than that which ariſes from hence need be given of the exiſtence of a future and better ſtate, wherein the unequal diſtribution of miſery and happineſs in this life ſhall be adjuſted; "*when the crooked ſhall* "*be made ſtraight, and the rough places plain* (*l*)!"

(*l*) In 1585 Sir Francis Drake made a deſcent on Hiſpaniola, and in his account of that iſland, which is preſerved in Hakluyt, vol. iii. he relates that the Spaniards, having utterly exterminated the ancient Indians, (not a ſingle deſcendant being, I doubt, at that time living) had neyertheleſs derived

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derived ſo little advantage from their cruelty, as to be obliged *to convert pieces of leather into money*;—all the ſilver, in the attainment of which from the bowels of the earth ſo many thouſands of poor wretches had periſhed, having long ſince found its way to Europe, and the inhabitants had no means of getting a freſh ſupply.

It may be proper in this place to obſerve, that ſome of the circumſtances which I have related above, reſpecting the cruelties of the Spaniards, are extracted from the writings of Bartholomew De Las Caſas, who is accuſed by Dr. Robertſon of exaggeration;—but Oviedo himſelf, who endeavours to palliate the monſtrous barbarities of his countrymen towards the natives, by aſſerting that they were addicted to unnatural vices, which rendered them properly obnoxious to puniſhment (a charge, by the way, which Herrera admits to be groundleſs)—Oviedo, I ſay, confeſſes that in 1535, only forty-three years poſterior to the diſcovery of Hiſpaniola, and when he was himſelf on the ſpot, there were not left alive in that iſland above five hundred of the original natives, old and young; for he adds, that all the other Indians at that time there, had been forced or decoyed into ſlavery, from the neighbouring iſlands*. Las Caſas, it is true, when he ſpeaks of numbers in the groſs, certainly over-rates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he meant to deceive; nor is there any juſt reaſon to ſuſpect his veracity when he treats of matters ſuſceptive of preciſion; more eſpecially in circumſtances of which he declares himſelf to have been an eye-witneſs. Let the reader judge of Las Caſas from the following narrative, in which his falſhood (if the ſtory were falſe) could have been very eaſily detected. "I once beheld" (ſays he) "four or five principal Indians roaſted alive at a "ſlow fire; and as the miſerable victims poured forth dread-"ful ſcreams, which diſturbed the commanding officer in "his afternoon ſlumbers, he ſent word that they ſhould be "ſtrangled; but the officer on guard (I KNOW HIS NAME, "AND I KNOW HIS RELATIONS IN SEVILLE) would not

* Oviedo, lib. iii. c. vi.

"ſuffer

"suffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged, that their "cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his "own hands, and roasted them deliberately till they all ex-"pired.—I SAW IT MYSELF."!!!

It may be necessary perhaps, on my own account, to add, that I have no other edition of Las Casas, than that which was published at Antwerp, in 1579. From a copy of that edition I have extracted the foregoing horrid relation; my hand trembling as I write, and my heart devoutly wishing it could be proved to be false.

## CHAP. IV.

*Land animals uſed as food.—Fiſhes and wild fowl. Indian method of fiſhing and fowling.—Eſculent vegetables, &c.—Concluſion.*

IN tracing the ſeveral tribes of quadrupeds, properly ſo called, which anciently exiſted in the Weſt Indies, it will be found that the Windward or Charaibean iſlands, poſſeſſed all that were poſſeſſed by the larger iſlands, and ſome ſpecies which in the latter were unknown It is likewiſe obſervable, that all the animals of the former are ſtill found in Guiana, and few or none of them in North America: Theſe are additional proofs that the Windward Iſlands were anciently peopled from the South. The enumeration of them follows:

1. The Agouti; 2. the Pecary; 3. the Armadillo; 4. the Opuſſum; 5. the Racoon; 6. the Muſk Rat; 7. the Alco; 8. the ſmaller Monkey of ſeveral varieties.

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These I think are their moſt general appellations; but, from the variety of Indian languages, or dialects rather of the ſame language, which anciently prevailed in the Iſlands and on the neighbouring Continent, ſome of theſe animals have been diſtinguiſhed by ſo many different names, that, in reading the accounts of them tranſmitted by the French and Spaniſh hiſtorians, it is often difficult to underſtand of which in particular they mean to ſpeak.

The Agouti is ſometimes called *couti*, and *coati*. It was corrupted into *uti* and *utia*, by the Spaniards; and at preſent it is known in ſome parts of the Weſt Indies by the terms *pucarara* and *Indian coney*. It is the *mus aguti* of Linnæus, and the *cavy* of Pennant and Buffon.

To theſe writers it is ſufficient to refer, for a deſcription of its nature and properties.—I ſhall briefly obſerve that, in comparing it with the quadrupeds of Europe, it ſeems to conſtitute an intermediate ſpecies between the rabbit and the rat; and of the animals which I have enumerated above, this and the laſt are, I fear, the only ones that have eſcaped the common fate of all the nobler inhabitants of theſe unfortunate iſlands, man himſelf (as we have ſeen) not excepted! The agouti is ſtill frequently found in Porto-Rico, Cuba and Hiſpaniola, and ſometimes in the mountains of Jamaica. In moſt of

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the iſlands to Windward, the race, though once common to them all, is now I believe utterly extinct.

The Pecary, which was not known in the larger Iſlands, has been honoured with no leſs variety of names than the Agouti. According to Rochefort it was alſo called *javari* and *pacquiré*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acoſta *ſaino* and *zaino*. It is the *ſus tajacu* of Linnæus, and the *pecary* and *Mexican-muſk hog* of our Engliſh naturaliſts.

Of this animal, a very full and particular account has been given by Monſ. Buffon in his Natural Hiſtory, and by Dr. Tyſon in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. I have heard that it ſtill abounds in many of the provinces of Mexico; but in the Weſt Indian iſlands I believe the breed has been long ſince exterminated. Thoſe that I have ſeen were carried thither from the Continent as objects of curioſity; and they appeared to me to differ from the European hog principally in the ſingular but well-known circumſtance of their having a muſky diſcharge from an aperture or gland on the back, erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be the navel; and in the colour of their briſtles; the pecary being indeed highly ornamented; for the briſtles of thoſe that I beheld, were of pale blue, tipt with white. It is alſo related of this animal, that it poſſeſſes

far

far greater courage that the hog of Europe; and when hunted by dogs, will frequently turn and compel its enemy to retreat. Thus its native bravery bringing it within the reach of fire-arms, contributed doubtleſs to its final deſtruction in the Iſlands.

OF the Armadillo, the ſpecies anciently known in theſe iſlands was I think that which is called by ſyſtematical writers the *nine banded*. It is covered with a jointed ſhell, or ſcaly armour, and has the faculty of rolling itſelf up, like the hedge-hog. As food it is ſaid to be very wholeſome and delicate. It was once found in all parts of the Weſt Indies.

THE Opuſſum (or *manitou*) is diſtinguiſhable from all other animals, by a wonderful property. Under the belly of the female there is a pouch, wherein ſhe receives and ſhelters her young*.— Both this and the former animal are too well known to the curious in natural reſearches, to render it neceſſary for me to be more particular. I believe the opuſſum, like the pecary, was unknown to the larger Iſlands.

THE Racoon was common in Jamaica in the time of Sloane, who obſerves that it was eaten by all ſorts of people. Its abode was chiefly in hollow trees, from whence, ſays Sloane, it makes paths to the cane-fields, where it chiefly ſubſiſts;

* I have ſince learnt that the female *Kangaroo* from New Holland, is provided in the ſame manner.

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a circumſtance which, while it indicates that its number was conſiderable, eaſily accounts for its deſtruction.

The Muſk Rat is the *piloris* of naturaliſts: it burrows in the earth, and ſmells ſo ſtrongly of muſk, that its retreat is eaſily diſcovered. According to the French writers, theſe abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward Iſlands to a great degree *(m)*; and its reſemblance to the common rat of Europe, though four times as large, probably proved fatal to the whole race. I am ſometimes inclined to ſuſpect that this animal is the *agouti* of the larger Iſlands.

The Alco was the native dog of the New Hemiſphere, nor does it ſeem to have differed greatly from that of the Old; except that it poſſeſſed not the power of barking *(n)*. The natives of Hiſpaniola, like thoſe of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their fleſh a great delicacy. "In St. Domingo" (ſays Acoſta) "the dogs of Europe have multiplied ſo "exceedingly, that at this time (1587) they are a "nuiſance and a terror to the inhabitants, and "a price is ſet on their heads as on wolves in "Old Spain. At firſt there were no dogs in "this iſland, but a ſmall mute creature reſem-"bling a dog, with a noſe like that of a fox;

*(m)* P. Labat, tom. ii. p. 302.
*(n)* F. Col. c. xxiv.

"which

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" which the natives called alco. The Indians " were ſo fond of theſe little animals, that they " carried them on their ſhoulders wherever they " went, or nouriſhed them in their boſoms."

THE Monkey and its varieties require no deſcription.

THUS it appears that out of eight different ſpecies of edible quadrupeds, one only was domeſtick and ſequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his ſavage ſtate. Of the beaſts of the foreſt, the ſtrongeſt diſpute his ſuperiority and the weakeſt avoid his approach. To his conveniency therefore they contribute nothing, and towards his nouriſhment, the ſupplies that they afford are caſual and uncertain. Nature however ſeems to have diſplayed towards the inhabitants of theſe iſlands, a bounty that almoſt rendered ſuperfluous the labours of art in procuring them ſuſtenance; for, beſides the animals that I have mentioned, and thoſe that are furniſhed by the rivers and the ſea, the woods were peopled with two very extraordinary creatures; both of which anciently were, and ſtill are, not only uſed as food, but accounted ſuperior delicacies.

THESE are the Iguana and the Mountain-crab. The Iguana (or, as it is more commonly written, the *guana)* is a ſpecies of Lizard :—a claſs of animals, about which naturaliſts are not agreed whether to

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rank them with quadrupeds, or to degrade them to ſerpents.—They ſeem therefore to ſtand aloof from all eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, and indeed juſtly claim a very diſtinguiſhed place by themſelves. From the alligator, the moſt formidable of the family, meaſuring ſometimes twenty feet in length, the gradation is regular in diminution of ſize to the ſmall lizard of three inches; the ſame figure and conformation nearly (though not wholly) prevailing in each. The iguana is one of the intermediate ſpecies, and is commonly about three feet long, and proportionably bulky, It lives chiefly among fruit trees, and is perfectly gentle and innoxious. Europeans doubtleſs learnt to make food of them from the example of the ancient Indians, amongſt whom the practice of hunting them was a favourite diverſion *(o)*; and they are now become generally ſcarce, except in the iſlands of the Windward-paſſage, and ſuch other places between the tropicks as are ſeldom viſited by man. I believe indeed the Engliſh, even when they were more plentiful, did not often ſerve them at elegant tables; but their French and Spaniſh neighbours, leſs ſqueamiſh, ſtill devour them with exquiſite reliſh: I imagine too they have good reaſon; for I have been aſſured by a lady of great beauty and

*(o)* F. Col. c. xxv.

elegance,

elegance, who ſpoke from experience, that the iguana is equal in flavour and wholeſomeneſs to the fineſt green turtle *(p)*. CHAP. IV.

Respecting the Mountain Crab, which ſtill ſurvives in the larger of theſe Iſlands, though its final extinction is probably at hand, its hiſtory

*(p)* P. Labat likewiſe ſpeaks of a fricaſſeed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteneſs of its fleſh and the delicacy of its flavour.—Tom. iii. p. 315. In a ſubſequent page, he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no objection to accompany the good Father *a là chaſſe*, he may participate in the diverſion as follows: "We were attended" (ſays he) "by a negro, who carried a long rod; at one end "of which was a piece of whipcord with a running knot. "After beating the buſhes for ſome time, the negro diſ"covered our game baſking in the ſun on the dry limb of "a tree. Hereupon he began whiſtling with all his might, "to which the guana was wonderfully attentive, ſtretching "out his neck and turning his head, as if to enjoy it more "fully. The negro now approached, ſtill whiſtling, and "advancing his rod gently, began tickling with the end of "it the ſides and throat of the guana, who ſeemed mightily "pleaſed with the operation; for he turned on his back, "and ſtretched himſelf out like a cat before a fire, and "at length fairly fell aſleep; which the negro perceiving, "dexterouſly ſlipt the nooſe over his head, and with a jerk "brought him to the ground: and good ſport it afforded, "to ſee the creature ſwell like a turkey cock, at finding him"ſelf entrapped. We caught others in the ſame way, and "kept one of them alive ſeven or eight days; but" (continues the reverend hiſtorian) "it grieved me to the heart to "find that he thereby loſt much delicious fat." Theſe animals are likewiſe known in the Eaſt Indies. Sir Joſeph Banks ſhot one of them at Batavia, and found it good food.

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is ſo wonderful, that I chooſe rather to give it in the language of others, than in any recital of my own. The authors from whom I tranſcribe, are Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote from their own knowledge and perſonal obſervation, and the facts which they relate have been repeated to me a thouſand times in the Weſt Indies, by perſons, who I am ſure never knew what has been publiſhed on the ſubject by any author whatever. "Theſe animals" (ſays Du Tertre) "live not only in a "kind of orderly ſociety in their retreats in the "mountains, but regularly once a year march "down to the ſea-ſide in a body of ſome mil-"lions at a time. As they multiply in great "numbers, they chuſe the months of April or "May to begin their expedition; and then "ſally out from the ſtumps of hollow trees, "from the clefts of rocks, and from the holes "which they dig for themſelves under the ſur-"face of the earth. At that time the whole "ground is covered with this band of adven-"turers; there is no ſetting down one's foot "without treading upon them. The ſea is "their place of deſtination, and to that they "direct their march with right-lined preciſion. "No geometrician could ſend them to their "deſtined ſtation by a ſhorter courſe; they

"neither

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" neither turn to the right nor to the left whatever obſtacles intervene; and even if they meet with a houſe, they will attempt to ſcale the walls to keep the unbroken tenor of their way. But though this be the general order of their route, they, upon other occaſions, are compelled to conform to the face of the country, and if it be interſected by rivers, they are ſeen to wind along the courſe of the ſtream. The proceſſion ſets forward from the mountains with the regularity of an army under the guidance of an experienced commander. They are commonly divided into battalions, of which the firſt conſiſts of the ſtrongeſt and boldeſt males, that, like pioneers, march forward to clear the route and face the greateſt dangers. The night is their chief time of proceeding, but if it rains by day they do not fail to profit by the occaſion, and they continue to move forward in their ſlow uniform manner. When the ſun ſhines and is hot upon the ſurface of the ground, they make an univerſal halt, and wait till the cool of the evening. When they are terrified, they march back in a confuſed diſorderly manner, holding up their nippers, with which they ſometimes tear off a piece of the ſkin, and leave the weapon where they inflicted the wound."

" WHEN, after a fatiguing march, and eſcap-

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" ing a thouſand dangers, for they are ſometimes " three months in getting to the ſhore, they " have arrived at their deſtined port, they pre- " pare to caſt their ſpawn. For this purpoſe " the crab has no ſooner reached the ſhore, than " it eagerly goes to the edge of the water, and " lets the waves waſh over its body two or " three times to waſh off the ſpawn. The eggs " are hatched under the ſand; and ſoon after, " millions at a time of the new-born crabs, " are ſeen quitting the ſhore, and ſlowly travel- " ling up to the mountains."

So far Du Tertre, as copied by Goldſmith. What follows, is from Brown's Hiſtory of Jamaica. " The old crabs having diſburthened " themſelves" (as above) " generally regain their " habitations in the mountains by the latter end " of June.—In Auguſt they begin to fatten, and " prepare for moulting; filling up their burrows " with dry graſs, leaves, and abundance of other " materials.—When the proper period comes, " each retires to his hole, ſhuts up the paſſage, " and remains quite unactive until he gets rid " of his old ſhell, and is fully provided with a " new one. How long they continue in this " ſtate is uncertain, but the ſhell is firſt obſerved " to burſt at the back and the ſides, to give a " paſſage to the body, and the animal extracts " its limbs from all the other parts gradually

" afterwards.

" afterwards. At this time the fleſh is in the " richeſt ſtate, and covered only with a tender " membranous ſkin, variegated with a multitude " of reddiſh veins, but this hardens gradually, " and ſoon becomes a perfect ſhell like the for- " mer. It is however remarkable that, during " this change, there are ſome ſtony concretions " always formed in the bag, which waſte and diſ- " ſolve as the creature forms and perfects its " new cruſt."

To theſe full and particular accounts I will add, of my own knowledge, that many people, in order to eat of this ſingular animal in the higheſt perfection, cauſe them to be dug out of the earth in the moulting ſtate; but they are uſually taken from the time they begin to move of themſelves, till they reach the ſea as already related. During all this time they are in ſpawn, and if my teſtimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feaſted, on the ſubject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choiceſt morſels in nature. The obſervation therefore of Du Tertre, is neither hyperbolical, nor extravagant. Speaking of the various ſpecies of this animal, he terms them " a living and perpetual ſupply of manna in " the wilderneſs; equalled only by the miracu- " lous bounty of Providence to the children of " Iſrael when wandering in the deſert. They " are

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" are a reſource," continues he, " to which " the Indians have at all times reſort ; for when " all other proviſions are ſcarce, this never fails " them."

Such plenty of animal food, had the laviſh hand of nature enabled the groves and the foreſts of theſe highly favoured iſlands, to furniſh for the uſe of man. The regions of water and of air were ſtill more copiouſly gifted. Happily the inhabitants of thoſe elements, leſs obnoxious to the arts of deſtruction than the races that I have deſcribed, are yet ſufficiently numerous to bear witneſs themſelves to the inexhauſtible liberality of their almighty Creator.—We may ſay in the language of Milton,

————Each creek and bay<br>
With fry innumerable ſwarm, and ſhoals<br>
Of fiſh glide under the green wave.——<br>
————Part ſingle, or with mate,<br>
Graze the ſea-weed their paſture; and thro' groves<br>
Of coral ſtray, or ſporting with quick glance,<br>
Show to the ſun their wav'd coats dropt with gold.

While the woods and the marſhes equally abound with while fowl of infinite variety, and exquiſite flavour *(q)*. But of the tribes which theſe

*(q)* The moſt delicious bird in the Weſt Indies is the *Ortalan*, or *October-bird*. It is the *emberiza oryzivora* of Linnæus, or rice-bird of South Carolina; of which a deſcription is given by Cateſby.—Yet it is remarkable, that they are

these iſlands ſtill abundantly furniſh, and from whoſe nature and properties there is no reaſon to apprehend an extinction of the race, it is not within my province to treat. The enumeration that I have made has chiefly extended to ſuch, as from their ſcarcity are ſeldom noticed by modern naturaliſts and voyagers, or of which the knowledge and even the names are loſt to the preſent inhabitants :—for it has been juſtly obſerved, that what from its antiquity is but little known, has from that circumſtance alone the recommendation of novelty. I ſhall therefore cloſe my account of the animal creation



are reckoned birds of paſſage in North America as well as in the Weſt Indies. Cateſby obſerves, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September, to devour the rice : they continue there about three weeks, and retire when the rice begins to grow hard.—He ſuppoſes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina ; but I believe they are not in the iſlands till the month of October.—At leaſt it is in that month that they viſit Jamaica in prodigious flights, to feed on the ſeeds of the Guinea graſs.—According to Cateſby, the *hens* only arrive in Carolina in September. The hen is about the bigneſs of a lark, and coloured not unlike it in the back ; the breaſt and belly pale yellow, the bill ſtrong and ſharp pointed, and ſhaped like moſt others of the granivorous kind.—The cock's bill is lead colour, the fore part of the head black, the hinder part and the neck of a reddiſh yellow, the upper part of the wing white, the back next the head black; lower down grey, the rump white, the greateſt part of the wing and the whole tail black ; the legs and feet brown in both ſexes.—Vide the *Yellow Fly-catcher* of Edwards, p. 5.

with

with a deſcription of two very curious methods, known to the antient Indians, of catching fiſh and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amuſed.

"THE Indians of Jamaica and Cuba" (ſays Oviedo) "go a fiſhing with the *remora*, or ſuck-"ing-fiſh, which they employ as falconers em-"ploy hawks. This fiſh, which is not above "a ſpan long, is kept for the purpoſe and re-"gularly fed. The owner on a calm morning "carries it out to ſea, ſecured to his canoe by "a ſmall but ſtrong line, many fathoms in length; "and the moment the creature ſees a fiſh in "the water, though at a great diſtance, it ſtarts "away with the ſwiftneſs of an arrow, and ſoon "faſtens upon it. The Indian, in the mean "time, looſens and lets go the line, which is "provided with a buoy that keeps on the ſur-"face of the ſea, and ſerves to mark the courſe "which the remora has taken, and he purſues "it in his canoe, until he conceives his game "to be nearly exhauſted and run down.—He "then, taking up the buoy, gradually draws "the line towards the ſhore; the remora ſtill "adhering with inflexible tenacity to its prey, "and it is with great difficulty that he is made "to quit his hold. By this method" (adds "Oviedo) "I have known a turtle caught, of

" a bulk and weight which no ſingle man could " ſupport *(r)*."

THEIR contrivance for catching wild fowl was equally ingenious, though practiſed I believe by other nations, particularly the Chineſe, at this day. In the ponds to which theſe birds reſort, they uſed to throw calabaſhes (a ſpecies of gourd) which float about the water, and which, when accuſtomed to them, the fowl would approach without fear. Having ſucceeded thus far, the ſportſman puts one of theſe gourds on his head (firſt making apertures for the ſight

*(r)* Herrera confirms this account. See alſo P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii.——Beſides the turtle, it is ſaid, that the Indians (the reader may believe it or not) frequently caught the *Manati* in the ſame manner. This ſingular animal is now become very ſcarce on the ſhores of the Weſt India Iſlands, but is ſtill ſometimes caught there, as I myſelf can witneſs. It is the ſame which the French call *Lamentin.*—By the Britiſh ſeamen it has been named (from a ſuppoſed reſemblance in the head) the *Sea-Cow*; and its fleſh, which taſtes ſomewhat like pork, is thought to be very good, both freſh and ſalted.—The animal itſelf is a ſort of amphibious creature, neither a quadruped nor a fiſh.—It has two legs, and is covered with hair, and ſuckles its young; yet it never leaves the water, but feeds on graſs which grows at the bottom of the ſea. It is commonly from ten to fifteen feet long, huge and unwieldy, and weighs from twelve to fifteen hundred weight. Acoſta, who was a very good Catholick, relates that this animal was very excellent food; but (continues he) " I ſcrupled to eat it on Friday, *being doubtful whether it " was fiſh or fleſh.*"

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and the breath) and very cautiously creeps into the water, either gently swimming, or walking where the stream is shallow, with his head only above the water, until he gets among the fowl, when seizing one at a time by the feet, and dragging it by a sudden jerk under the surface, he fastens it to his girdle, and thus loads himself with as many as he can carry away, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the rest.

I MIGHT now proceed to an enumeration and account of the esculent vegetables originally produced in these Islands; especially those most valuable ones, the Maize, the maniock *(s)*, and the different species of the *dioscorea* or Yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of these climates, the natives without doubt composed the chief part of their daily support: but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of systematical wtiters; particularly those of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheless it were to be wished, that those authors had more frequently discriminated than they appear to have done, such vegetables as are in-

*(s)* A late ingenious writer (Dr. Darwin) has given it as his opinion, that the maniock, or cassava, when made into bread, is rendered mild by the heat it undergoes, rather than by expressing its superfluous juice; and I believe the observation to be just; for Sir Hans Sloane relates, that the juice itself, however acrimonious in its raw state, becomes, when boiled, as innocent and wholesome as whey.

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digenous, from thofe which have been tranfplanted from foreign countries. Nature, with moft beneficent intention, has beftowed on diftant climates and regions many fpecies peculiar to each. This variety in her works, is one of the greateft incitements to human induftry; and the progrefs of men in fpreading abroad the bleffings of Providence, adorning and enriching the widely feparated regions of the globe with their reciprocal productions, as it is one of the moft ufeful employments of our faculties, fo it is a fubject which well deferves the notice of the hiftorian, and the contemplation of the philofopher *(t)*.

But it is now time to quit general defcription

*(t)* The Weft Indies are much indebted, on this account, to the Eaft, but I believe that the firft of all fruits, the anana or pine-apple, was carried from the Weft to the Eaft. It was found by Columbus in all the Weft India Iflands, and P. Martyr, whofe Decades were chiefly compiled out of Columbus's Letters to King Ferdinand, writes of it as follows: *Alium fructum fe invictiffimus rex Ferdinandus comediffe fatetur, ab iifdem terris advectum, fqammofum, pinûs nucamentum adfpectu, forma colore æmulatur, fed mollitie par melopeponi, fapore omnem fuperat hortenfem fructum: non enim arbor eft, fed herba, carduo perfimilis, aut acantho. Huic et rex ipfe palmam tribuit. Ex iis ego pomis minimè comédi: quia unum tantùm è paucis allatis reperîre incorruptum, cæteris ex longa navigatione putrefactis. Qui in nativo folo recentia ederunt illorum cum admiratione fuavitatem extollunt.* Who does not lament that King Ferdinand did not leave a flice for his honeft Hiftoriographer? The term *Anana* is, I believe, eaftern: The Weft Indian name of this fruit was *fan-polo-mie.*

 for

for particular hiſtory. Many objects indeed are hereafter to be conſidered, which, being common to all our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, will be comprehenſively diſcuſſed ;—but in previouſly treating of the origin and progreſs of our national eſtabliſhments in them, it ſeems proper to diſcourſe of each Iſland ſeparately ;—and, as the moſt important, I begin with JAMAICA.

# APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

*Containing ſome additional obſervations concerning the origin of the Charaibes.*

HAVING ventured, in the ſecond chapter of this book, to adopt the opinion of Hornius *(a)* and other writers, who aſſign to ſome of the natives of America an oriental origin, and ſuppoſe that they anciently croſſed the Atlantick Ocean, I beg the reader's indulgence while I briefly ſtate the evidence whereon I attempt to rebuild a ſyſtem, which it has become faſhionable, among ſome late philoſophers, to reject and deride. APPENDIX.

So many volumes have indeed already been written, and ſo much uſeleſs learning exhauſted, on the ſubject of the firſt peopling America, that I doubt the reader will ſhrink with diſguſt from an inveſtigation, which perhaps has given riſe to as great a number of idle books, as any queſtion (ſome diſputed points in divinity excepted) that ever diſtracted the attention of mankind.

*(a)* De originibus Americanis, lib. ii. c. vi.

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It may be neceſſary therefore to premiſe, that I mean to apply my argument *to the Charaibe Nation only*; a people whoſe manners and characteriſtick features denote, as I conceive, a different anceſtry from that of the generality of the American nations.

It is not wonderful that the notion of their tranſatlantick origin ſhould have been treated with deriſion.—The advocates for this opinion, like the framers of moſt other ſyſtems, by attempting to prove too much, have gained even leſs credit than they deſerve. In contending that the New World was firſt planted by adventurers from the Old, they univerſally take for granted, that ſome of thoſe adventurers returned, and gave accounts of their diſcoveries; for they ſuppoſe that America was well known to the Ancients; that not only the Phenicians made repeated voyages thither; but that the Egyptians and Carthaginians alſo, voluntarily croſſed the Atlantick, and planted Colonies, at different periods, in various parts of the New Hemiſphere.

In ſupport of theſe opinions, quotations have been made from poets, philoſophers and hiſtorians: But, if we reflect on the limited extent of navigation before the diſcovery of the compaſs; the prevailing direction of the winds between the tropicks; and various other obſtructions,

we

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we may I think very confidently determine (notwithſtanding the traditions preſerved by Plato; the poetical reveries of Seneca the tragedian, and many other paſſages in ancient writers, which admit of various interpretations, and therefore prove nothing) *that no veſſel every returned from any part of America before that of Columbus.*— This concluſion, however, does by no means warrant us in pronouncing that no veſſel ever ſailed thither from the ancient continent, either by accident or deſign, anterior to that period. That ſuch inſtances did actually happen, and by what means, I ſhall now endeavour briefly to point out.

THERE is no circumſtance in hiſtory better atteſted, than that frequent voyages from the Mediterranean along the African coaſt, on the Atlantick Ocean, were made, both by the Phenicians and Egyptians, many hundred years before the Chriſtian era. It is true, that almoſt all the accounts which have been tranſmitted to us, in profane hiſtory, of thoſe expeditions, are involved in obſcurity, and intermixed with abſurdity and fable;—but it is the buſineſs of philoſophy to ſeparate, as much as poſſible, truth from falſehood; and not haſtily to conclude, becauſe ſome circumſtances are extravagant, that *all* are without foundation. We know from indiſputable authority, that the Pheni-

BOOK I. cians diſcovered the Azores, and viſited even our own Iſland before the Trojan war *(b)*. That their ſucceſſors the Carthaginians, were not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the ſpirit of naval enterprize, we may conclude from the celebrated expedition of Hanno *(c)*; who, about 250 years before the birth of our Saviour, ſailed along the African coaſt, until he came within five degrees of the line. It was the Carthaginians who diſcovered the Canary Iſlands, and it appears from the teſtimony of Pliny *(d)*, that they found in thoſe iſlands, the ruins of great buildings, *(veſtigia Edificiorum)* a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which hiſtory is ſilent.

So far, we have clear hiſtorical evidence to guide us in our reſearches. Not leſs clear and certain

*(b)* Procopius, Secretary to Beliſarius in the time of Juſtinian, mentions in his Vandalica, book ii. that there were then ſtanding in Africa Tingitana, (Tangier) two columns erected by the Chananites that fled from Joſhua, the ſon of Nun. Euſebius alſo writes, that thoſe Chananites which were driven out by the Iſraelites conducted Colonies to Tripoli, in Africa. *(Bochart in Canaan, cap.* xxiv.)—that they navigated the Weſtern Ocean *(cap.* xxxvi.) and were in Gaul and Britain *(cap.* xlii.) See alſo Sammes's Phænician Hiſtory of Britain.

*(c)* This was publiſhed with Stephanus de Urbibus, by Berkley, in 1688, and in the minor geographers at Oxford. I believe it was firſt publiſhed in Greek, by Sigiſmund Gelenius, who died in 1554.

*(d)* Lib. vi. c. xxxii. *de Fortunatis Inſulis.*

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(though lefs numerous) are the accounts of the Phenician navigation, down the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, to diftant parts of Afia and Africa, in ages ftill more remote than thofe that have been mentioned. In the voyages undertaken by King Solomon, he employed the fhips and mariners of that adventurous and commercial people. With their affiftance he fitted out fleets from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red Sea, fuppofed to be the Berenice of the Greeks. Of thofe fhips, fome were bound for the weftern coaft of the great Indian continent; others, there is reafon to believe, turning towards Africa, paffed the fouthern promontory, and returned home by the Mediterranean to the port of Joppa.

In fupport of this account of the flourifhing ftate of ancient navigation in the Arabian Gulph, we have, firft of all, the higheft authority to refer to; that of the fcriptures. Next to which, we may rank the teftimony of Herodotus, the father of profane hiftory: the truth of whofe well-known relation of a Phenician fleet doubling the Cape of Good Hope fix hundred years before the birth of Chrift, was never difputed, I believe, until our learned countryman, the author of the late American hiftory, delivered it as his opinion, that "all the information we have received from "the Greek and Roman authors, of the Pheni-"cian and Carthaginian voyages, excepting only

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"the short narrative of Hanno's expedition before mentioned, is of suspicious authority *(e)*."

I SHALL quote from Herodotus the passage alluded to, that the reader may judge for himself of the veracity of the venerable old Grecian. It is as follows. "Libya is every where encircled by the sea, except on that side where it adjoins to Asia. Pharaoh Neco, King of Egypt *(f)*, made this manifest. After he had desisted from his project of digging a canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulph, he furnished a body of Phenicians with ships, commanding them to enter the Northern Sea by the Pillars of Hercules; and sail back by that route to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore sailing from the Red Sea navigated the Southern Ocean: At the end of autumn they anchored, and going ashore sowed the ground, *as those who make a Libyan voyage always do*, and staid the harvest. Having cut the corn, they sailed. Thus two years having elapsed, they returned to Egypt, passing by the Pillars of Hercules; and they re-

*(e)* Robertson's History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

*(f)* There were two kings of Egypt of this name. The second, who is generally supposed to have ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, was slain in battle by the Assyrians, I think under the command of Nebuchadnezzar; but an ambiguous phrase in Herodotus, seems rather to point out the elder Neco, who was contemporary with Solomon.

"ported

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"ported a circumſtance which to me is not "credible, though it may gain belief from others, "*that ſailing round Libya they had the ſun on the* "*right* (*g*)."

NOTWITHSTANDING the doubts entertained by Dr. Robertſon reſpecting this account, I perceive in it ſuch evidence of truth, as, to my own mind, affords entire conviction.—How could it have been known, unleſs from actual obſervation, that Africa, towards the South, was encompaſſed by the ſea? The caution with which the venerable hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf, is remarkable: and the circumſtance that the voyagers obſerved the meridian ſun on the north, in ſailing round Libya, which ſeemed an impoſſibility at a time when all between the tropicks was deemed uninhabitable, is of itſelf deciſive of the main fact (*h*).

DR. Robertſon has ſhewn, it is true, that many

(*g*) Herod. Melpomene 42. In the former editions of my work, ſome miſtakes were made in the tranſlation of this paſſage, which were pointed out to me by the kindneſs of Henry James Pye, Eſq. the Poet Laureat, who aſſures me, that he has always conſidered the paſſage in queſtion as an undeniable proof of the early doubling the Cape of Good Hope. It was the opinion of Eratoſthenes the coſmographer, that the outer ſea flowed round the earth, and that the Weſtern, or Atlantick, and Red Seas, were but one Ocean. *Vide* Strabo. B. 1. p. 38. See alſo the ſame author, B. 1. p. 28. where it is aſſerted, that Homer's Menelaus circumnavigated Africa from Gades to India.

(*h*) This voyage was performed about two thouſand one hundred years before that of Vaſquez de Gama in 1497.

BOOK I. many hiſtorians and geographers of antiquity, who lived long after the days of Herodotus, knew nothing concerning the form and ſtate of the ſouthern parts of Africa.—He obſerves particularly that Ptolemy, the aſtronomer, ſuppoſed that this great continent ſtretched without interruption to the South Pole. All this however only demonſtrates that navigation, like many other branches of ſcience, flouriſhed in one age, and declined in another. Herodotus lived 400 years before the birth of our Saviour, and Ptolemy 140 years after. Ancient hiſtory abundantly proves that the Phenicians, and their ſucceſſors the Carthaginians, poſſeſſed far greater ſkill in naval affairs than the Greeks, Romans, or any other nation that came after them, until the ſpirit of naval diſcovery revived, and ſhone with greater luſtre than ever, in the fifteenth century.

From this recapitulation which I have thought neceſſary to make, though the ſubſtance of it may be found in a thouſand different authors, (commonly blended indeed with much learned abſurdity and frivolous conjecture) the reader will clearly perceive that the navigation of the Atlantick Ocean, along the coaſt of Africa, both from the North and the South, and even at a conſiderable diſtance from the land, was well underſtood and prevailed in very remote ages. Now if we enquire into the nature of the

winds and currents on the African coaſt, and reflect on the various caſualties to which ſhips at ſea are liable, even in the moſt favourable ſeaſon of the year; we muſt admit, that it not only probably happened in ſome of thoſe ancient expeditions, but even that *it was ſcarce poſſible not to happen*, that veſſels would be driven by ſudden guſts, or carried by adverſe currents, within the verge of the trade-wind; in which caſe, if they happened to loſe their maſts, they muſt neceſſarily run before the wind, towards Braſil, or the Weſt Indies.

Two remarkable accidents of this nature, preciſely in point, are recorded by writers of credit, and doubtleſs there are many other inſtances equally well authenticated, that have eſcaped my reſearch. The firſt is related by Captain Glaſs, in his hiſtory of the Canary Iſlands, who obſerves that a ſmall bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her courſe, and obliged to run before the wind, until ſhe came within two days ſail of the coaſt of Caraccas; where ſhe fortunately met with an Engliſh cruiſer which relieved her diſtreſſes, and directed her to the Port of La Guaira on that coaſt. The other is told by Gumilla, as follows. "In "December 1731," ſays this author, "while "I was at the town of St. Joſeph, in Trinidad, "a ſmall veſſel belonging to Teneriffe, with "ſix ſeamen, was driven into that iſland by ſtreſs "of

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"of weather. She was laden with wine; and "being bound to one other of the Canary "Islands, had provisions for a few days only, "which, with their utmost care, had been ex-"pended a considerable time; so that the crew "lived entirely on wine. They were reduced "to the last extremity, and expected death "every moment, when they discovered Trinidad, "and soon afterwards came to an anchor in that "island, to the great astonishment of the in-"habitants; who ran in crowds to behold the "poor seamen; whose emaciated appearance, "would have sufficiently confirmed the truth "of their relation, even if the papers and docu-"ments which they produced, had not put the "matter out of all possible doubt."

To the preceding instances it may be added, that Columbus himself, in his second expedition to the West Indies, found the stern-post of a vessel lying on the shore at Guadaloupe;—a circumstance which affords a strong presumption that a ship had been in the New World before him.

UNDER this head of fortuitous visits to the American continent prior to that of Columbus, may likewise be included the circumstance mentioned by Martyr, that at a place called Quarequa, in the Gulph of Darien, Vascho Nunez met with *a colony of negroes* (d). The enquiry (if any was

(d) Mancipia ibi nigra repererunt ex regione distante à Quarequa, dierum spatio tantùm duorum quæ solos gignit nigritas

was made) by what means they came into that region, or how long they had refided in it, and the anfwers to fuch queftions, are not recorded by the Spanifh hiftorians; but from the fmallnefs of their number, it was fuppofed they had not been long arrived upon that coaft. There can be no doubt but that fome accidental caufe had conducted them thither from Africa, and in *open canoes*, of no better conftruction than thofe of the American Indians *(e)*. APPENDIX.

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nigritas et eos feroces atque admodùm truces.——P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. i.

*(e)* Such accidents in truth are common in all parts of the world. The inhabitants of Java report their origin to have been from China; the tradition among them being that, 850 years ago, their progenitors were driven by a tempeft upon that ifland in a Chinefe junk: And we owe the European difcovery of Japan to three Portuguefe exiles who were fhipwrecked there in 1542. I believe that fhips bound from Europe to the Eaft Indies, at a certain feafon of the year generally make for the fouthern coaft of Brafil, in order to fall in with the wefterly monfoon, which enables them either to reach the Cape of Good Hope, or purfue their route by Madagafcar; for while the eaftern monfoon prevails, they are conftantly baffled in their attempts to double the Cape, and are driven to leeward towards the coaft of South America. In the year 1626, when Sir Dodmore Cotton was fent on an embaffy to the Perfian Court, the fleet in which he failed was forced by contrary winds within a few leagues of the ifland of Trinidad, in the Weft Indies. Sir Thomas Herbert, in his account of this voyage, relates that "on the "firft of June, when they were by obfervation in 24° 42′ "fouth latitude, they met with many fudden gufts and "ftorms

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The reader will now perhaps conclude, that Dr. Robertſon pronounced two haſtily, when he obſerved "that ſuch events," (as thoſe that I have mentioned) "are barely poſſible, and *may* "have happened; but that they ever did happen, "we have no evidence, either from the clear "teſtimony of hiſtory, or the obſcure intima-"tions of tradition." This declaration is the more unexpected, as the learned author had a little before related the circumſtance of the accidental diſcovery of Braſil by the Portugueſe, in the year 1500. "The ſucceſsful "voyage of Gama to the Eaſt Indies" (obſerves the hiſtorian) "having encouraged the King of "Portugal to fit out a fleet, ſo powerful, as not "only to carry on trade, but to attempt con-"queſt, he gave the command of it to Pedro "Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coaſt "of Africa, where he was certain of meeting "with variable breezes, or frequent calms, to "retard his voyage, Cabral ſtood out to ſea, "and kept ſo far to the Weſt, that, to his "ſurpriſe, he found himſelf upon the ſhore of an "unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond "the line. He imagined, at firſt, that it was "ſome iſland in the Atlantick Ocean hitherto

"ſtorms which rendered them unable to purſue their courſe, "and drove them to leeward 100 leagues upon the coaſt of "Braſil."

"unobſerved;

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"unobserved; but, proceeding along its coasts for several days, he was led gradually to believe that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the Crown of Portugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus's discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design, which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent *(f)*."

*(f)* Hist. America, vol. i. p. 151.

AND

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And certainly, by fome fuch accident, in ages long paffed, might the ancient Hemifphere have given a beginning to population in the New; or at leaft have fent thither the progenitors of that feparate race of people of which I now treat. It remains for me, however, to affign my reafons for particularly applying this conclufion to the Charaibes, inftead of any other of the numerous tribes which inhabit the eaftern fide of the immenfe continent of South America.

The migration of any people is beft traced by their language; but there is this inconveniency attending this fpecies of evidence, that in reducing a language merely oral, to writing, different perfons even of the fame nation, would fometimes unavoidably reprefent the fame found by a very different arrangement of letters; — much more frequently would this happen, fhould the writers be of diftant countries, and confequently habituated to various modes of pronunciation and orthography;—but although I am of opinion therefore that vocabularies preferved by voyagers, feldom afford much certainty of information on a comparifon with each other; there are, neverthelefs, in every language, many words of which the found is too fimple to be eafily mifunderftood or grofsly mifreprefented.

Thus, on comparing the Charaibe vocabulary, preferved by Rochefort, with the ancient oriental dialects

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dialects *(g)*, it is ſcarce poſſible to doubt that the following words uſed by the Charaibes, had their origin in the Old Hemiſphere, and we may readily believe that many inſtances of a ſimilar nature might be adduced, but for the cauſe I have aſſigned, namely, the different modes which different perſons would neceſſarily adopt, each according to his own perception of the ſound, of reducing the ſame words to writing; thus creating a perplexity which it is now too late to diſentangle. To

| *Charaibe.* | *Meaning in French, according to Rochefort.* | *Words having the ſame meaning in the Oriental dialects.* | *Meaning in Engliſh.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Liani | Sa femme | לי הנה [Li Hene] | *His wife* |
| Yene-neri | Ma femme | הנה הרה ני [Hene Hera ni] | *My wife* |
| Hac yeté | Venez ici | Sam. ࠀࠊࠀ ࠀࠕࠉ [Aca ati] | *Come hither* |
| Karbet | Maiſon publique | קיר בית or קרא בית [Qir or Qra Bit] | *Walled houſe* / *Aſſembly houſe* |
| Encka | Collier | ענק [Onq] | *Necklace or collar* |
| Yene kali | Mon Collier | חענק אלי [E'Onq ali] | *My necklace* |
| Hue-Hue | Du bois | Cald : עא [Oä] | *Wood* |
| Nora | Ma peau | עור ני [Oür ni] | *My ſkin* |
| Nané-guaete | Je ſuis malade | נאנחתי [Nanecheti] | *I am ſick* |
| Halea tibou | Sois le bien venu | יהא לי המיבו [Yeha li e thibou] | *Good be to you* |
| Phoubae | Soufflé | פוח [Phouhe] | *To blow* |
| Toubana ora | Couverture d'un Maiſon | די בנה עור [Di Bne Oür] | *Roof of a houſe* |
| Bayou boukaa | Va t'en | בוא בואך [Boua Bouak] | *Go thy way* |
| Baika | Mange | Cald. בגה [Bge] | *Eat* |
| Aika | Manger | אכל [Akl] | *To eat* |
| Nichiri | Mon nez | נחר [Ncheri] | *The noſe* |
| Natoni boman | Donne moi a boire | נתני ב אמן [Natoni bamen] | *Give me nouriſhment.* |

*(g)* For this illuſtration, and other aſſiſtance in the courſe of this enquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend; by whom I am

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To the proofs arifing from language, I fhall add the following.—We have feen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accuftomed to land on the Arabian and Libyan coafts, and taking poffeffion of a fpot of ground fit for their purpofe, they proceeded to plough up and fow it with corn, and waited until it came to maturity ;—thus providing themfelves with food for a long navigation. This practice muft doubtlefs have given rife to difputes and conflicts between the intruders and the inhabitants. Now it is remarkable that the word *Charaibe*, in the Arabick language, fignifies, as I am informed, *a robber* or deftroyer, an appellation which we may believe was frequently beftowed by the natives on the invaders of their country *(h)*.

THE

I am informed (being myfelf unacquainted with the oriental languages) that the Samaritan, and old Phenician, the Syriack, Chaldee and Hebrew, are all dialects of one language ; differing but little from each other, except in their letters. The Hebrew agrees lefs with the other dialects than the reft, but is now printed in the fame character with the Chaldee. They all form a noun in the fame manner except the Hebrew, which perfixes ש (S) to form the genitive cafe, and את (at) to form the accufative ; all the others ufe ד (D) and ית (it).

*(h)* Leri, and fome others, fpeak of the *Charaibes* as priefts or prophets found in Brafil. Rochefort makes *Charaibe* a national name. Thefe words are oriental, founding alike, but fpelt differently ; and of a different meaning : The priefts may be called קרב איש as men who offer קרבן κορβαν an

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The teſtimony ariſing from a ſimilarity of manners, though far leſs concluſive than the evidence of language, is ſurely, in the preſent caſe, not without its force. That many of the cuſtoms of the eaſtern nations prevailed among the Charaibes, I have, I think, ſufficiently demonſtrated in the ſecond chapter of this work. Of ſome of thoſe cuſtoms, the reſemblance was probably fortuitous, and a ſimilarity of climate and ſituation, might have given riſe to others; but when very ſingular and arbitrary practices prevail between diſtant nations, which are neither founded in nature nor climate, nor proceed from ſituation and rank in the ſcale of refinement, the coincidence can ſcarcely be deemed accidental. Thus, among other cuſtoms equally remarkable, it has been related that the Charaibes buried their dead in a cowering poſture, with their knees to the chin. The very ſame cuſtom prevails at this day in the Sandwich Iſlands of the South Sea*, the inhabitants of which are,

an offering, *κορυβας* is the Greek word for a prieſt of Cybele, *unde* Corybantes, לי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה Leviticus i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from חרב the verb Chaldee. Syr. Arab. *to lay waſte*. The noun ſignifies a ſword or ſpear and חרבה Sam. *War*. This explanation was given me by the friend mentioned in the preceding note.

* Ledyard's MSS. *penes me*.

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beyond all doubt, of eaftern origin; and that it was an ancient practice of the eaftern nations appears from the authorities of Herodotus and Cicero; the former recording the exiftence of it among the Nafamones, a people who inhabited the countries between Egypt and Carthage; and the latter relating the fame circumftance of the ancient Perfians. I am inclined to believe that this practice prevailed alfo in the country and age of the patriarchs;—for how otherwife are we to underftand the fcripture phrafe OF GATHERING UP THE FEET OF THE DYING? "*And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his fons*, HE GATHERED UP HIS FEET INTO THE BED, and yielded up the ghoft *(i)*."

MANY other correfponding circumftances may be traced in Herodotus. Thus when he enumerates the army of Xerxes, he obferves of the ancient Ethiopians, that they ufed bows and arrows in battle, and painted their bodies with crimfon *. The coincidence between thefe people and the Charaibes in both thefe refpects, can hardly, I think, be afcribed to chance, and it is fuch as inftinct could not have produced.

EQUALLY prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations in the eaftern

*(i)* Gen. c. xlix. v. 33.
* Book vii.

part

part of the Old Hemiſphere, were the ſuperſtitious rites of ſhortening the hair and wounding the body, in religious ceremonies and lamentations for the dead. That theſe practices were uſual among the heathens, ſo early as the days of Moſes, is evident from the injunction which the Lord laid on the children of Iſrael to avoid them. " *Ye ſhall not round the corners of your* " *head, neither ſhalt thou mar the corners of thy* " *beard. Ye ſhall not make any cuttings in your* " *fleſh for the dead, nor print any marks upon* " *you (k).*" Again,—" *Ye are the children of* " *the Lord, your God: Ye ſhall not cut yourſelves,* " *nor make any baldneſs between your eyes for the* " *dead (l).*" Among the heathens however the ſame ceremonies were ſtill continued; for in Samaria, in the days of Ahab, King of Iſrael, it is recorded of the prophets of Baal that, in worſhipping their idol, " *they cried aloud and* " *cut themſelves after their manner with knives* " *and lances till the blood guſhed out upon* " *them (m).*" At this day the Iſlanders of the South Sea expreſs grief and lamentation for the dead in the very ſame manner.

But perhaps the inſtance the moſt appoſite

(*k*) Levit. c. xix. v. 27.
(*l*) Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.
(*m*) 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

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and illuſtrative, was the habit among the Charaibes of chewing the *betele*, preparing it with calcined ſhells preciſely after the manner of the Indians in the Eaſt;—a circumſtance, which, though recorded by P. Martyr *(n)*, had eſcaped my reſearches, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Long. Some other reſemblances, almoſt equally ſtriking, might be collected; but the reader will probably think that more than enough has already been ſaid on a ſubject, the inveſtigation of which he may perhaps deem a mere matter of idle curioſity, neither contributing to the improvement of ſcience, nor the comfort of life.

Here then I conclude: An attempt to trace back the Charaibes of the Weſt Indies to their progenitors, the firſt emigrants from the ancient hemiſphere, in order to point out, with any degree of preciſion or probability, the era of their migration, were (like the voyages I have been deſcribing) to venture on a vaſt and unknown ocean without a compaſs;—and even without one friendly ſtar to guide us through the night of conjecture.

*(n)* Decad. viii. c. vi.

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THE

# HISTORY,

## CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF

## The British Colonies in the West Indies.

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# BOOK II.

## JAMAICA (a).

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## CHAP. I.

*Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's death.—Takes possession of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Sevilla Nueva.—Destruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega founded.--Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's son*

(a) It may be proper to observe, that the governor of Jamaica is stiled in his commission Captain-general, &c. of Jamaica *and the territories thereon depending in America.* By these DEPENDENCES were meant the British settlements on the Musquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras: But his

*son Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in perpetual sovereignty.—Descends to his sister Isabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the House of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain, in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596, and Col. Jackson in 1638.*

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JAMAICA had the honour of being discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second expedition to the New World. In his former voyage he had explored the north-eastern part of Cuba, proceeding from thence to Hispaniola; but he had returned to Europe in doubt whether Cuba was an island only, or part

jurisdiction over those settlements having been imperfectly defined, was seldom acknowledged by the settlers; except when they wished to plead it in bar of the authority claimed by their respective superintendants. On such occasions they admitted a superior jurisdiction in the governor of Jamaica, and applied to him for commissions civil and military. As both the settlements were surrendered to the crown of Spain by the Spanish convention signed at London on the 14th of July 1786, it comes not within the plan of my work to enter on a display of their past or present state. I formerly drew up a memorial concerning the settlement on the Musquito-shore, wherein an account was given of the country, its inhabitants and productions, and the question between Great Britain and Spain, as to the territorial right, pretty fully discussed. This memorial having been laid before the House of Commons in 1777 (by Governor Johnstone) was soon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register for that year.

of

of ſome great continent, of which he had received obſcure accounts from the natives. To ſatisfy himſelf in this particular, he determined, ſoon after his arrival a ſecond time at Hiſpaniola, on another voyage to Cuba, by a ſouth-weſterly courſe, and, in purſuance of this reſolution, on the 24th of April, 1494, Columbus ſailed from the Port of Iſabella, with one ſhip and two ſhallops. On Tueſday the 29th, he anchored in the harbour of St. Nicholas. From thence he croſſed over to Cuba, and coaſted along the ſouthern ſide of that Iſland, ſurrounded by many thouſand canoes filled with Indians, whom curioſity and admiration had brought together. In this navigation, on Saturday the 3d of May, he diſcovered, for the firſt time, the high lands of Jamaica on the left, and probably learnt its name (the name which it ſtill retains) from ſome of the Indians that followed him *(b)*. As this was a new diſcovery, and many of the ſeamen were willing to believe that it was the place to which they had been formerly directed by the Indians of the Bahama Iſlands, as the country moſt

*(b)* P. Martyr. F. Columbus. The early Spaniſh hiſtorians wrote the word *Xaymaca*. It is ſaid to have ſignified, in the language of the natives, *a country abounding in ſprings*. Columbus having at firſt named the iſland *St. Jago*, Oldmixon, and ſome other writers, erroneouſly ſuppoſe that *Jamaica* was the augmentative of *James*.

abounding

abounding in gold, Columbus was eafily perfuaded to turn his courfe towards it. He approached it the next day, and, after a flight conteft with the natives, which ended however in a cordial reconciliation, he took poffeffion of the country, with the ufual formalities.

But it was not until the fourth and laft voyage of Columbus, a voyage undertaken by this great navigator, after he had fuffered a feverer trial from the bafe ingratitude of the Country and Prince in whofe fervice he laboured, than from all his paft toils, dangers and inquietudes, that he learnt more of Jamaica; which, as it had the honour of being firft difcovered by him nine years before, had now the ftill greater honour of affording him fhelter from fhipwreck. For, on the 24th of June 1503, being on his return to Hifpaniola, from Veragua, he met with fuch tempeftuous weather as compelled him, after lofing two of his fhips, to bear away in the utmoft diftrefs for this ifland. With great difficulty, he reached a little harbour on the north fide *(c)* where he was forced to run aground the two veffels that were left him, to prevent their foundering. By this difafter, his fhips were damaged beyond the poffibility of repair, and he had now the melancholy reflection that his

*(c)* Called to this day, *Don Chriftopher's Cove.*

miferies

miſeries and his life would probably terminate together. During the ſpace of twelve months and four days, that he remained in this wretched ſituation, he had new dangers to ſurmount, and unaccuſtomed trials for the exerciſe of his fortitude. His people revolted, the Indians deſerted him, and the Governor of Hiſpaniola not only refuſed to relieve, but, with monſtrous and unexampled barbarity, aggravated his misfortunes by outrage and mockery. All theſe occurrences however, the dexterity with which he availed himſelf of the ſuperſtition of the Indians by the circumſtance of an eclipſe, and the means whereby his deliverance was at length effected, having been recounted by a thouſand different hiſtorians, need not be repeated by me. The hardſhips he ſuffered on this occaſion, and his Sovereign's ingratitude together, proved too mighty for his generous ſpirit: he ſunk under them, ſoon after his return to Spain; leaving a name which will not be extinguiſhed, but with that world whoſe boundaries he had extended *(d)*.



AFTER

*(d)* There is preſerved among the Journals of the Hon. Council in Jamaica, a very old volume in MS. conſiſting of diaries and reports of Governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other tranſactions in the firſt ſettlement of the colony. In this book is to be found the

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After the death of this illuſtrious diſcoverer, the tranſactions of the Spaniards, during a century and a half, in the ſettlement of Jamaica, have ſcarcely obtained the notice of hiſtory. Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their more extenſive enterpriſes, during the ſame period, were

the tranſlation of a letter to the King of Spain, ſaid to be written by Columbus during his confinement on this Iſland. As it appears to me to bear marks of authenticity, I ſhall preſent it to my readers. It was written probably about eight months after the departure of his meſſenger Diego Mendez, who had attempted to reach Hiſpaniola in an Indian canoe. Hearing nothing from him in that interval, Columbus ſeems to have relinquiſhed every hope of relief, and to have written this letter in an hour of deſpondency, not as having any probable means of ſending it to Spain, but on the idea that it would be found after his death.— It is as follows:

A Letter from Christopher Columbus, in Jamaica, to King Ferdinand.

"Jamaica, 1504.

"Diego Mendes, and the papers I ſent by him, will ſhew your Highneſs what rich mines of gold I have diſcovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greateſt misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is ſufficient that your Highneſs and your ſucceſſors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full diſcovery and ſettlement are reſerved for happier perſons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be ſo merciful to

were veiled in equal darkneſs, or conſigned to everlaſting oblivion: happier ſtill, if their ſplendour had been tranſmitted to poſterity through a purer

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to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highneſs and my great miſtreſs that this will not only be a *Caſtile* and *Leon*, but a diſcovery of a world of ſubjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itſelf covet: but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can expreſs the anguiſh and afflictions of my body and mind; nor the miſery and dangers of my ſon, brother and friends! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ſhips, that are run on ſhore and laſhed together; thoſe of my men that were in health have mutined under the Porras's of Seville, my friends that were faithful are moſtly ſick and dying, we have conſumed the Indians' proviſions, ſo that they abandon us; all therefore are like to periſh by hunger, and theſe miſeries are accompanied with ſo many aggravating circumſtances, that render me the moſt wretched object of misfortune, this world ſhall ever ſee; as if the diſpleaſure of Heaven ſeconded the envy of Spain, and would puniſh as criminal thoſe undertakings and diſcoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions! Good Heaven, and you holy ſaints that dwell in it, let the King Don Ferdinand and my illuſtrious miſtreſs Donna Iſabella know, that my zeal for their ſervice and intereſt hath brought me thus low; for it is impoſſible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I ſee, and with horror apprehend, my own, and, for my ſake, my unfortunate and deſerving peoples' deſtruction. Alas, piety and juſtice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my miſery makes my life a burthen to myſelf, ſo I fear the empty titles of Vice-Roy and Admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spaniſh nation. It

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purer medium, and not, as now, ſerving chiefly to render viſible the vices and enormities that ſurround and debaſe them!

The few particulars of their progreſs which, by diligent ſelection, aided by traditionary memorials,

It is viſible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am, in my old age, oppreſſed with inſupportable pains of the gout, and am now languiſhing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among ſavages, where I have neither medicines nor proviſions for the body, prieſt nor ſacrament for the ſoul. My men in a ſtate of revolt; my brother, my ſon, and thoſe that are faithful, ſick, ſtarving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the Governor of Saint Domingo, has ſent rather to ſee if I am dead, than to ſuccour us, or carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor ſpoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; ſo I conclude your Highneſs's officers intend that here my voyages and life ſhould terminate. O bleſſed mother of God, that compaſſionates the miſerable and oppreſſed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchaſed gold, and ſent us to Spain in chains without trial crime or ſhadow of miſconduct? Theſe chains are all the treaſures I have, and they ſhall be buried with me, if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of ſo unjuſt an action periſh with me, and, for the glory of the Spaniſh name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy on the Caſtillian name, nor let future ages know, there were wretches ſo vile in this, that think to recommend themſelves to your majeſty by deſtroying the unfortunate and miſerable Chriſtopher Columbus; not for his crimes, but for his ſervices in diſcovering and giving Spain a new world. As it was Heaven itſelf that inſpired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will

rials, I have been able to collect, I ſhall now preſent to my readers. CHAP. I.

About ſeventeen years had elapſed after the Spaniards had firſt fixed themſelves in Hiſpaniola, before they ſeem to have entertained any

will weep for me, and ſhew pity! Let the earth, and every ſoul in it, that loves juſtice and mercy, weep for me! And you, O glorified Saints of God, that know my innocency and ſee my ſufferings here, have mercy! for though this preſent age is envious or obdurate, ſurely thoſe that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Chriſtopher Columbus, with his own fortune, ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with little or no expence to the Crown of Spain, in ten years, and four voyages, rendered greater ſervices than ever mortal man did to prince or kingdom, yet was left to periſh, without being charged with the leaſt crime, in poverty and miſery; all but his chains being taken from him; ſo that he who gave Spain another world, had neither ſafety in it, nor yet a cottage for himſelf, nor his wretched family: but, ſhould Heaven ſtill perſecute me, and ſeem diſpleaſed with what I have done, as if the diſcovery of this new world may be fatal to the old, and as a puniſhment bring my life to a period in this miſerable place, yet do you, good angels, you that ſuccour the oppreſſed and innocent, bring this paper to my great miſtreſs. She knows how much I have done, and will believe what I have ſuffered for her glory and ſervice, and will be ſo juſt and pious as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain ſuch immenſe riches, and added to it vaſt and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or ſubſiſt only on alms. She, if ſhe lives, will conſider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, ſo that the wealth I have diſcovered, ſhall be the means of ſtirring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spaniſh nation ſuffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious and ungrateful people, do now.

ſerious

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ſerious deſign of ſending forth a colony to poſ-ſeſs itſelf of Jamaica. As this iſland had hither-to produced neither gold nor ſilver, it ſeems to have been neglected as unworthy further notice; and perhaps it might have continued a few years longer the peaceful ſeat of innocent ſimplicity, but for the baſe ingratitude of King Ferdinand, towards the family of Columbus. This great man, after his return to Spain in 1504, was com-pelled to employ the cloſe of his days in fruitleſs and irkſome ſolicitation at the court of an un-thankful and unfeeling monarch; who meanly ſuffered him to be cruelly defrauded of the rights and privileges originally granted to him; and which he had ſo dearly and ſo nobly earned. His ſon Diego, the heir of his fortunes, ſucceeded to the ſame debaſing neceſſity, till, at length, wearied out with frivolous and unprincely ex-cuſes, he inſtituted a memorable proceſs againſt his ſovereign before the council of the Indies at Seville; and this court, with a firmneſs and virtue that cannot be ſufficiently applauded, decided in favour of his pretenſions. After a minute and ſolemn inveſtigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary viceroy and high admiral of all the countries and iſlands diſcovered by his father. They decreed, that he was inveſted with a juriſdiction over them ſimilar to that of the high admiral of Caſtille; that he

was

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was entitled to a tenth part of all the gold and ſilver that might thereafter be found in thoſe territories; and they adjudged him various other privileges and immunities, of vaſt extent and authority. But the king, notwithſtanding this diſtinguiſhed and competent recognition of his rights, confirmed to him only the title and authority of governor and admiral of Hiſpaniola; and even of this diminiſhed command, it is probable he would have been deprived, if he had not fortunately ſtrengthened his intereſt by an illuſtrious marriage *(e)*. The gallant youth, nevertheleſs, ſtill boldly perſiſted in his claim to the full exerciſe of all the rights and authority, which had been ſo recently decreed to belong to him; and he ſhortly afterwards, accompanied by a numerous and ſplendid retinue, embarked for his government, reſolved to enforce his pretenſions.

He arrived in Hiſpaniola in the month of July 1508, but had very ſoon the mortification to diſcover that the king had actually inveſted in two other perſons (Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicueſſa) not only two ſeparate and diſtinct governments, which comprehended all the con-

*(e)* He married *Mary de Toledo*, daughter to *Ferdinand de Toledo*, grand commander of Leon, who was brother to *Frederick* duke of *Alva*.

 tinent

BOOK II. tinent as far as it had been diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, but had alſo included the iſland of Jamaica, as a joint appendage within the juriſdiction of each. Theſe appointments Diego Columbus conſidered as a manifeſt violation of his own rights, and ſtrenuouſly contended for the excluſive privilege of nominating, in particular, to the governments of Veragua and Jamaica, the prior diſcovery of both thoſe countries by his father being a circumſtance of univerſal notoriety. To ſecure his claim to Jamaica, in the month of November 1509, he ſent thither Juan de Eſquivel, with about ſeventy men. Eſquivel had acquired the reputation of a gallant ſoldier, and it is ſtill more to his honour, that he was one of the very few Caſtillians, who, amidſt all the horrors of bloodſhed and infectious rapine, were diſtinguiſhed for generoſity and humanity. An eminent inſtance of his greatneſs of mind is recorded by Herrera.—About the time that he ſailed from Hiſpaniola to take poſſeſſion of his new government of Jamaica, his competitor Ojeda was on his departure to the continent. Ojeda violently oppoſed the intended expedition of Eſquivel, and publickly threatened that if he ſhould find him at Jamaica, on his return from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. It happened that Ojeda's voyage was unfortunate in the higheſt degree; for,

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for, after ſuſtaining a ſeries of unexampled calamities, he was ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of Cuba, and was in danger of miſerably periſhing for want of food. In his diſtreſs he called to mind that Eſquivel was in Jamaica, and he was now reduced to the ſad extremity of imploring ſuccour from the very man whoſe deſtruction he had meditated; but the magnanimous Eſquivel was no ſooner made acquainted with the ſufferings of his enemy, than he forgot all his reſentment. He immediately ſent over to Cuba, Pedro de Narvez, an officer of rank, to conduct Ojeda to Jamaica. Eſquivel received him with the tendereſt ſympathy, treated him, during his ſtay, with every poſſible mark of diſtinction and reſpect, and provided him with the means of a ſpeedy and ſafe conveyance to Hiſpaniola. It is pleaſing to add, that Ojeda was not ungrateful to his benefactor.

Under ſuch a man, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the yoke of ſubjection ſat light and eaſy on the natives of Jamaica, and that the ravages of conqueſt were reſtrained within the limits of humanity. Accordingly, the Spaniſh hiſtorians bear the moſt honourable teſtimony to his virtuous and gentle adminiſtration.— "The affairs of Jamaica (ſays Herrera) went "on proſperouſly, becauſe Juan de Eſquivel "having brought the natives to ſubmiſſion

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"*without any effuſion of blood*, they laboured in "planting cotton, and raiſing other commodities "which yielded great profit." This praiſe is the more valuable becauſe it is almoſt peculiar to Eſquivel, who alone ſeems to have been ſenſible of the abominable wickedneſs of viſiting diſtant lands only to deſolate them; and of converting the Indians to Chriſtianity by cutting their throats. How many noble qualities, in ſome of his cotemporaries, were tarniſhed by cruelty and rapine, or unhappily blended with a miſguided and frantick zeal for religion, that rendered their poſſeſſors ſtill more remorſeleſs and ſavage!

Esquivel continued in his office but a few years. He died in his government, and was buried at *Sevilla Nueva*, a town which he had founded. He was probably ſucceeded by governors of a far different character, who, it is to be feared, ſoon began to ſpread among the wretched natives the ſame horrible carnage that was now deſolating Hiſpaniola. It appears that Francis de Garay held the chief command in 1523, ſince in that year he fitted out an expedition from this iſland for the conqueſt of Panuco, a territory which Cortes, unknown to Garay, had already annexed to the Spaniſh dominion. In this expedition were employed nine ſhips and two brigantines, and there were embarked in it 850 Spaniards, and a conſiderable body of Jamaica Indians,

Indians, and 144 horſes. Such a force, if collected chiefly within the iſland, proves that a great progreſs had been made in its ſettlement and population during the thirteen years that the Spaniards had been in poſſeſſion of it. As Eſquivel had eſtabliſhed the ſeat of government near to the ſpot which had been honoured by the reſidence of Columbus after his ſhipwreck in 1503, it may be preſumed that the town of Sevilla Nueva was now become of ſome conſideration. This town, as we are informed by Herrera, was founded on the ſcite of an ancient Indian village, called *Maima (f)*, and near to the port named by Columbus Santa Gloria (now St Ann's Harbour) and the daily acceſſion of new inhabitants would naturally extend the boundaries of the capital, till the rude village, conſiſting at firſt of a few temporary huts, muſt have increaſed to a place of importance. Religion too, in all the Spaniſh territories, very ſoon forced architecture into her ſervice; for, by a lamentable inconſiſtency in the human

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(f) *Quaſi* MAMEE. There is a bay a little to the eaſtward, which is called at this hour *Mamee Bay*. The ground on which *Sevilla Nueva* was built, is now chiefly the property of Mr. Heming, who has a large ſugar plantation thereon. It is called Seville Plantation; and the ruins of the ancient town are ſtill viſible in ſome of the cane-fields. It deſcended to him from his anceſtor Captain Heming, an officer in Cromwell's army.

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mind, these destroyers of their fellow-creatures were wonderfully exact in the observance of all the outward ceremonies of divine worship. With hands yet reeking in the blood of murdered innocence, they could erect temples to the Almighty, and implore that mercy from Heaven, which they had just denied to the miserable victims of their cruelty and rapine. Among other costly buildings a cathedral and monastery were designed, and the foundations of both were visible not long ago, as many of the ruins are at this day. Peter Martyr of Angleria, the author of the Decades, was appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as well as of the cathedral, were inspected by Sloane in 1688, who relates, that a pavement was discovered at the distance of two miles from the church; a circumstance that may give us some idea of the extent of the city in the days of its prosperity. The west gate of the cathedral stood entire in 1688, and displayed, in the judgment of Sloane, very excellent workmanship; but it was his opinion that the building was never compleated; for he observed several arched stones that must have been designed for it, which apparently had never been put up *(g)*. He likewise discovered, in

*(g)* "Over the door (of the west gate) was a carving of our Saviour's head with a crown of thorns between two angels;

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in the ſame condition, materials for a capital manſion, probably intended for the palace of the governor. From theſe circumſtances, the tradition which ſtill prevails in the iſland, that the Spaniſh inhabitants of Seville were at ſome period, in their wars with the natives, entirely and ſuddenly cut off, is probably founded in truth. Sloane, indeed, relates that ſome of the Spaniſh planters, who had retired to Cuba, aſſigned very different reaſons for the deſertion of this part of the country, alledging, that a viſitation of innumerable ants had deſtroyed all their proviſion grounds, and that the ſituation of the capital was ill adapted for the purpoſes of their commerce. Theſe reaſons might poſſibly have operated againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the place; but were not, I think, of ſufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, ſuddenly to remove

angels; on the right ſide a ſmall round figure of ſome ſaint, *with a knife ſtuck into his head.* On the left a Virgin Mary or Madona, her arm tied in three places, Spaniſh faſhion. Over the gate, under a coat of arms, this inſcription.

Petrus. Martir. Ab. Angleria. Italus. Civis. Mediolanen. Prothon. Apos. Hujus. Inſule. Abbas. Senatus. Indici. Conſiliarius. Ligneam. Primus. Ædem. Hanc. Bis. Igne. Conſumptam. Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide. Primus. A. Fundamentis. Etruxit."

SLOANE.

 their

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their families and effects, and voluntarily ſubmit to the labour of building an entire new town, in a very diſtant and wholly uncultivated part of the country*. It is certain, that the town of Seville was not ſuffered to fall gradually to decay; but was depopulated while it was yet in an unfiniſhed ſtate, many years before the conqueſt of the iſland by the Engliſh *(h)*. Neither (if this tradition of its cataſtrophe were true) could a juſt account be expected from the deſcendants of men, who had deſervedly brought deſtruction on themſelves; ſince the recital of their fate would again have brought the deeds alſo of their anceſtors to remembrance, and they were deeds of darkneſs, too mournful to contemplate; too dreadful to be told!

* It is remarkable, however, that the whole iſland of Hiſpaniola was nearly deſtroyed by ants about the ſame period. In 1519, and the two ſucceeding years, as Oviedo relates, theſe inſects over-ran that iſland like an Egyptian plague; devouring all the roots and plants of the earth, ſo that the country was nearly depopulated. In our own times, the iſland of Grenada has ſuffered prodigiouſly from the ſame cauſe, of which ſome account will hereafter be given.

*(h)* See the account of Jamaica tranſmitted to Cromwell by general Venables, preſerved in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 545, wherein he ſpeaks of Seville as a town *that had exiſted in times paſt*. And Sloane relates that when the Engliſh took the iſland, the ruins of this city were overgrown with wood and turned black with age. He ſaw timber-trees growing within the walls of the cathedral, upwards of ſixty feet in height. Sloane's Hiſt. Jamaica, vol. i. p. 66.

Both ancient tradition, and recent diſcoveries, give too much room to believe that the work of deſtruction proceeded no leſs rapidly in this iſland, after Eſquivel's death, than in Hiſpaniola; for to this day caves are frequently diſcovered in the mountains, wherein the ground is covered with human bones; the miſerable remains, without all doubt, of ſome of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in thoſe receſſes, were probably reduced to the ſad alternative of periſhing with hunger, or bleeding under the ſwords of their mercileſs invaders *(g)*. When therefore we are told of the fate of the Spaniſh inhabitants of Seville, it is impoſſible to feel any other emotion than an indignant wiſh that the ſtory were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the poor Indians in the ſame moment to have extirpated their oppreſſors altogether! But unhappily this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was ſoon loſt in everlaſting darkneſs, ſince it pleaſed the Almighty, for reaſons inſcrutable to finite wiſdom, to permit the total deſtruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the moſt moderate eſtimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spaniards, not a ſingle de-

*(g)* It is diſcovered by the ſkulls, which are preternaturally compreſſed, that theſe are the ſkeletons of the Indians.

ſcendant

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ſcendant of either ſex, being alive when the Engliſh took the iſland in 1655, nor, I believe, for a century before *(h)*.

THE

*(h)* There is ſaid to exiſt on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Cuba, at this day, a ſmall remnant of the ancient Indians. They reſide in a little town near St. Jago de Cuba, called *Iwanee*, and have adopted the manners and language of the Spaniards. The deſtruction of ſuch prodigious numbers of theſe innocent people by the firſt diſcoverers, is one of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances in the hiſtory of mankind, and the ſubject can never be contemplated but with blended ſentiments of indignation and horror, commiſeration and ſympathy. Emotions of this kind gave riſe to the following *night ſcene* (part of an unfiniſhed work, which will probably never be compleated) and its inſertion in this place the poetical reader may poſſibly pardon;

————————Now on high
Refulgent Venus and the ſtarry train,
Spangle the vivid hemiſphere. Around
Myriads of inſect-meteors *, living lamps,
People the glittering air. A fairy world
I tread: a land of genii! Airy ſhapes,
Oft viſible to contemplation's eye,
Roam in the midnight hour theſe ſacred ſhades;
Nor unobſerved, while now the ſtarry train
Burn with diminiſh'd luſtre; for behold,
The radiant moon bid meaner glories fade.—
No cloud her courſe obſcures, and high ſhe tow'rs,
Guiding in awful majeſty thro' Heav'n
Her ſilver car, triumphant o'er the dark.
Sure 'tis illuſion and enchantment all!—
For ſtill fond fancy, thro' the ſhadowy glade,
Sees viſionary fleeting forms; ſtill hears

* Fireflies.

Sounds

The loſs of Seville was followed by that of Melilla, a ſmall village ſituated about eleven leagues to the eaſtward, (at the harbour now called Port Maria) and the cataſtrophe which attended

Sounds more than human. Once a gentle race
Own'd theſe fair vallies: from the birth of time
Theſe groves, theſe fountains, and theſe hills were theirs.
Perhaps e'en now their ſp'rits delighted haunt
Their once-lov'd manſions. Oft the penſive Muſe
Recalls, in tender thought, the mournful ſcene
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His laſt ſad bleſſing to a weeping train
Dying bequeath'd. 'The hour (he ſaid) arrives,
By ancient ſages to our ſires foretold *!—
Fierce from the deep, with Heav'n's own lightning arm'd,
The pallid nation comes! Blood marks their ſteps;
Man's agonies their ſport, and man their prey!
   What piercing ſhrieks ſtill vibrate on the ear!
The expiring mother lifts her feeble arm
In vain to ſhield her infant; the hot ſteel
Smoaks with their mingled blood; and blooming youth,
And manly ſtrength, and virgin beauty, meet
Alike th' untimely grave; till fell revenge
Is cloy'd and tir'd with ſlaughter. See, full-gorg'd,
The vulture ſickens o'er his waſte of prey,
And, ſurfeit-ſwell'd, the reeking hound expires.
   Yet pauſe not, Spaniard! whet thy blunted ſteel;
Take thy full paſtime in the field of blood!
But know, ſtern tyrant, retribution's hour
Ere long ſhall reach thee. Tho' his once loved iſle,
For crimes yet unaton'd, dread *Zemi* thus
To deſolation and to death conſigns,
And thou the inſtrument of wrath divine;

* See B. i. c. 3. p. 92.

attended theſe places is ſuppoſed to have cauſed the eſtabliſhment of the capital of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spaniſh Town.



In yonder orb, now darken'd in his courſe,
Read thy own doom more dreadful! With the ſlain,
The murtherer falls! Th' oppreſſor and th' oppreſs'd
Mingle in duſt together! Where are now
Thy blood-polluted glories? Ah! too late,
Learn, when avenging Heav'n preſumptuous guilt
Gives to its own fell purpoſes a prey,
More mark'd its fate, more terrible its fall.
So periſh the falſe triumphs, and vain hopes
Of mad ambition, and remorſeleſs pride,
That make weak man the murtherer of man!
O my aſſociates, dry thoſe ſcalding tears!—
One little moment, and we ſhall arrive
At thoſe bleſs'd iſlands, where, from guilt refin'd
By ſharp affliction, we no more ſhall feel
Death's torpid graſp, and agonizing pang!
There, with lov'd forefathers, ſhall we rove
Thro' palmy ſhades; in limpid fountains bathe,
Repoſe in jaſmin bowr's at ſultry noon;
And, when cool ev'ning tempers ſoft the air,
Unenvied gather from his unprun'd bough
The fragrant guoyva*. On our cheeks no more
The burning tear ſhall linger; not a ſigh
Swell the light boſom; but immortal joy
Fill ev'ry thought, and brighten ev'ry eye:
Meantime, thoſe happy interdicted ſhores
Our blood-ſtain'd foes ſhall ſeek; but ſeek in vain:
The hurricane ſhall rave, the thunder roll,
And ocean whelm them in his deepeſt tide,
Or leave transfix'd on the hard pointed rock;

* The fruit ſo called is the *Pſidium fructicoſum* of Botaniſts. P. Martyr relates, that it was in high eſteem among the natives.

CONCERNING the precife era of thefe events, it is now perhaps ufelefs to enquire; but if conjecture may be allowed, I fhould fix on the year 1523, immediately after the departure of the force under Garay; and if the new capital was really founded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which there feems no good reafon to difpute, the conjecture is ftrongly confirmed; for he embarked for Spain in difcontent in 1517, returned to his government with fuller powers in 1520, and died in his native country in the latter end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526; and it was certainly after his arrival the laft time in Hifpaniola, that he laid, or caufed to be laid, the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega *(i)*.

THE new city increafed rapidly, and in 1545 (twenty years after the death of its founder) it

The fport of howling winds. How fhall we laugh,
When the pale coward flaves, to us, remote,
Direct th' uplifted hand, th' imploring eye!
Their confcious groans fhall feed our great revenge;—
Their endlefs woes, our wond'rous wrongs repay.'

Jamaica, a poem; MSS. *penes me.*

*(i)* Since this was written I have difcovered, by a re-perufal of Oviedo, that there was a general revolt of the Indians of St. Domingo in December 1522, which Diego Columbus fuppreffed, and immediately afterwards repaired to Jamaica to take on himfelf the government in the room of Garay. It feems probable, from hence, that the revolt extended to both iflands.

* had

BOOK II. had the honour of giving the title of Marquis to his ſon and heir, who received at the ſame time from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the whole iſland in perpetual ſovereignty, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Caſtille.

As this is an important circumſtance in the hiſtory of this iſland, and ſeems not to have been perfectly underſtood by any of the Engliſh hiſtorians who have treated of the affairs of Jamaica, I preſume that a more copious account and explanation of it, will not be unacceptable.

Diego Columbus left iſſue three ſons and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Don Lewis, ſucceeded to his father's honours and extenſive claims. Of the daughters, the eldeſt, Iſabella, afterwards intermarried with the count de Gelvez, a Portugueſe nobleman of the houſe of Braganza. Lewis Columbus was an infant of ſix years of age on the death of his father; but was generally conſidered as hereditary vice-roy, and high admiral of the Weſt Indies. The emperor, however, though he treated him with ſingular diſtinction, and conſiderably augmented his revenues, as he grew to manhood, abſolutely refuſed to admit his claim to ſuch extenſive authority; and Lewis, as his minority expired, inſtituted, after his father's example, a legal proceſs for the recovery of his birthright. It does not appear that

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that his suit ever came to a legal issue; for, in the year 1545, he found it prudent to accede to a compromise with the emperor, whereby he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, for a grant of the province of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, with the title of duke de Veragua and marquis de la Vega. What might have been the precise extent and nature of this grant, we have not information sufficient to enable us to judge. Whatever it was, he left no issue to enjoy it; and his brothers also dying without male issue, his sister Isabella, wife of the count de Gelvez, became sole heiress of the Columbus family, and conveyed by her marriage all her rights to the house of Braganza, where they continued, I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in consequence of the revolution which placed John duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

Sir Hans Sloane therefore, in asserting that a duke de Veragua enjoyed a yearly revenue from Jamaica, at the time the island surrendered to the English in 1655, must have been misinformed; as he clearly is in supposing that the family of Columbus were at that time proprietors of the island, and had so continued from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella.

But there is a circumstance recorded by Blome,

Blome, and confirmed by the ſtate papers of Thurloe, for which the relation I have given ſufficiently accounts. I mean the eſtabliſhment in Jamaica of many Portugueſe families. The transfer of Iſabella's inheritance to the houſe of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portugueſe to fix their fortunes in the newly-acquired colony, and it is equally probable that the ſame event would excite jealouſy in the old Spaniſh ſettlers towards their new viſitors. Blome adds, that the Portugueſe were abhorred.

To ſuch mutual diſtruſt, and irreconcileable averſion of the inhabitants towards each other, muſt be aſcribed the reaſon that Sir Anthony Shirley met with ſo little reſiſtance when he invaded the iſland in 1596, and plundered the capital. About forty years afterwards it was again invaded by a force from the Windward Iſlands under colonel Jackſon. It is ſaid, however, that on this occaſion the inhabitants behaved with great gallantry in a pitched battle at Paſſage-Fort. They were, however, defeated, and Jackſon, after loſing forty of his men, entered St. Jago de la Vega ſword in hand, and, having pillaged the town of every thing valuable, received a conſiderable ranſom for ſparing the houſes. He then retreated to his ſhips, and carried off his booty without interruption.

FROM

FROM this period, until the capture of the iſland by the Engliſh in 1655, during the uſurpation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its concerns, nor perhaps were they productive of any event deſerving remembrance. I ſhall therefore proceed, in the next chapter, to the conſideration of the Protector's motives for attacking the territories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace ſubſiſted between the two nations; which I conceive have hitherto been greatly miſunderſtood, or wilfully miſrepreſented, by hiſtorians in general.

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†**† In the preceding chapter (p. 167 of the preſent edition) I have aſſigned ſome reaſons in ſupport of the traditional account of the deſtruction of New Seville, on the northern ſide of Jamaica, *by the ancient Indians*, and I have ſuppoſed that event to have happened in the year 1523. I have ſince diſcovered that the reaſons I have given were well founded. Among Sir Hans Sloane's MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, I have been ſhewn part of an unpubliſhed hiſtory of Jamaica, which was written the beginning of the preſent century, by Doctor Henry Barham, a very learned and reſpectable phyſician of that iſland, wherein the circumſtance is related nearly in the manner I had ſuggeſted, and ſtated to have occurred (as I had ſuppoſed) immediately after the embarkation of the force under Garay; which is known, from Herrera, to have taken place in 1523.—In the ſame work, the letter from Chriſtopher Columbus (*vide* p. 156, *et ſeq.*) is preſerved as a document of undoubted authenticity.

## CHAP. II.

*Cromwell vindicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.—Proposals offered by Modyford and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.*

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THERE is no portion of the English annals, in the perusal of which greater caution is requisite, than the history of the administration of the protector Cromwell. The prejudices of party, which, in common cases, are lost in the current of time, have floated down to us in full strength against this prosperous usurper; and his actions, from the period that he reached the summit of power, are still scrutinized with industrious malignity, as if it were impossible that authority irregularly acquired, could be exercised with justice.

IT is not strange therefore that the vigorous proceedings of the Protector against the Spanish nation, in 1655, should have been obnoxious to censure, or that writers of very opposite political principles

principles ſhould concur in miſrepreſenting his conduct on that occaſion. The celebrated female republican *(a)* terms it "diſhonourable and piratical," and the courtly and elegant apologiſt of the Stewart family *(b)*, pronounces it a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty.

THE publication of the ſtate papers of Thurloe (the Secretary) ought, however, to have mitigated this weight of cenſure. In truth, it will be found that nothing but a moſt diſingenuous concealment of the hoſtile proceedings of the Spaniards, too groſs to be palliated, towards the ſubjects of England, can give even the colour of plauſibility to the charge which has been brought againſt Cromwell, of having commenced an unjuſt and ruinous war, againſt a friend and ally, contrary to the intereſt of the nation, and in violation of the faith of treaties. If the power which is veſted in the executive magiſtrate, by whatever name he be diſtinguiſhed, be held for the protection and ſecurity of the religion, liberties and properties of the people under his government, the meaſures adopted by the Protector on that occaſion were not merely juſtifiable; they were highly neceſſary, and even meritorious; for the conduct of Spain, eſpecially in America,

*(a)* Mrs. Macauley—Hiſtory of England.

*(b)* David Hume—Hiſtory of Great Britain.

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was the declaration and exercise of war against the whole human race. I shall adduce a few remarkable facts to support this assertion. The subject is curious in itself, and, in some respects, will be new to the reader.

THE latest treaty which had been made between England and Spain, previous to the assumption of the protectorate by Cromwell, was concluded in the year 1630; by the first article of which it was stipulated, "that there should be peace, amity, and friendship betweeen the two crowns and their respective subjects *in all parts of the world*." Before this period, the sovereigns of Spain had not only encouraged, but openly avowed, the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe, that were or might be found in any part of the new hemisphere; arrogantly assuming to themselves a right not only to all the territories which their own subjects had discovered there, but claiming also the sole and exclusive privilege of navigating the American seas *(c)*.

PRETENSIONS

*(c)* In the reign of James I. within two years after the conclusion of a peace between England and Spain, which saved the Spanish monarchy from absolute destruction, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter dated from Madrid in May 1606, informs the Earl of Salisbury, that Don Lewis Firardo, a Spanish admiral, having met with certain English ships laden with corn and bound to Seville, "took the masters, and

PRETENSIONS ſo exorbitant, which violated alike the laws of nature and nations, were reſiſted by every maritime ſtate that felt itſelf concerned in the iſſue: by the Engliſh particularly, who had already planted colonies in Virginia, Bermudas, St. Chriſtopher's and Barbadoes; territories ſome of which Spain had not even diſcovered, and none of which had ſhe ever occupied. Thus actual war, and war in all its horrors, prevailed between the ſubjects of Spain in the new world, and thoſe of the ſeveral other nations who ventured thither; while, at the ſame time, peace

and firſt ſet their necks in the ſtocks. He afterwards removed them into his own ſhip, and there, with his own hands, did as much to their legs; reviling them, and calling them hereticks, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Chriſt, threatening to hang them; and in concluſion robbed them of what he thought fit." See Winwood, vol. ii. p. 143——It appears, by ſubſequent letters preſerved in the ſame collection, that Cornwallis, complaining to the Duke of Lerma, the miniſter of Spain, of Firardo's conduct, particularly in ſending to the gallies ſome Engliſh mariners, whom he had made priſoners in the Weſt Indies, was told by that miniſter "that Firardo ſhould be called to account, not (adds the Duke) for ſending the men to the gallies, but *for not having hanged them up, as he ought to have done.*" Sir Walter Raleigh, ſome time afterwards, in a letter to King James, ſpeaks of it as a well-known fact, that the Spaniards, in another inſtance, had murdered twenty-ſix Engliſhmen, tying them back to back and then cutting their throats, even after they had traded with them a whole month, and when the Engliſh went aſhore in full confidence, and without ſo much as one ſword among them. See Raleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 376.

BOOK II. apparently ſubſiſted between the parent ſtates in Europe.

To ſecure to the Engliſh an uninterrupted intercourſe with their ſettlements above mentioned, was one great object of the treaty of 1630. It ſeems indeed to have been more immediately founded on a remarkable inſtance of Spaniſh perfidy, which had recently happened in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher; for the court of Spain having, towards the latter end of the year 1629, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four ſhips of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, oſtenſibly to attack the Dutch ſettlement in Braſil, ſecretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the firſt place to the iſland I have mentioned (which, although the Spaniards had indeed firſt diſcovered it 130 years before, they had never once occupied) and rout out from thence both the Engliſh and French, who at that time held a joint and peaceable poſſeſſion.

NEITHER the French, nor Engliſh, nor both together, were ſtrong enough to oppoſe ſuch an enemy. The French planters took refuge in the neighbouring iſland of Antegua, and the Engliſh fled to the mountains; from whence they ſent deputies to treat for a ſurrender; but the haughty Spaniard required and obtained unconditional ſubmiſſion; and, having ſelected out

out of the Engliſh ſettlers ſix hundred of the ableſt men, whom he condemned to the mines, he ordered all the reſt (conſiſting chiefly of women and children) inſtantly to quit the iſland, in ſome Engliſh veſſels which he had ſeized at Nevis, under pain of death. He then laid waſte all the ſettlements within his reach, and having reduced the country to a deſart, proceeded on his voyage.

It might be ſuppoſed that the treaty of 1630, prevented ſuch enormities in future; but in violation of all that is ſolemn and ſacred among Chriſtian ſtates, and to the diſgrace of human nature, the Spaniards, eight years only after the affair of St. Chriſtopher's, attacked a ſmall Engliſh colony which had taken poſſeſſion of the little unoccupied Iſland of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the ſword: they even hanged up ſuch as came in and ſurrendered themſelves, on the promiſe of mercy, after the firſt attack.

The unhappy monarch at that time on the throne of England, was too deeply engaged in conteſts with his ſubjects at home, to be able to afford protection to his coloniſts abroad; and thoſe conteſts terminating at length in a civil war, the Spaniards proceeded in the ſame career with impunity; treating all the Britiſh ſubjects, whom they found in the Weſt Indies, as intruders and pirates. In the year 1635, the Engliſh and

BOOK II. Dutch had jointly taken poſſeſſion of Santa Cruz, which before that time was wholly unpeopled and deſerted. Diſputes afterwards ariſing between the new ſettlers, the Engliſh took arms and became ſole maſters of the Iſland. In 1650 the Spaniards landed there, and without the ſmalleſt provocation, exterminated every inhabitant that fell into their hands, murdering, as at Tortuga, even the women and children. As uſual with this revengeful nation, they conquered only to deſolate; for, having deſtroyed all the people they could ſeize, they laid waſte and then deſerted the Iſland, and when ſome of the Dutch nation, in conſequence of ſuch deſertion, took poſſeſſion a ſecond time, the Spaniards returned and treated them as they had treated the Engliſh.

Of their cruelties towards the ſubjects of foreign ſtates, even ſuch as were forced on their coaſts in diſtreſs, the inſtances were without number. Their treatment of the ſailors was as barbarous and inhuman, as their pretences for ſeizing their ſhips were commonly groundleſs and unjuſt. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if, in ſome few inſtances, they forebore to inflict immediate death on their priſoners, they ſentenced them to a worſe puniſhment; condemning them to work in the mines of Mexico for life *(d)*. It

*(d)* The Spaniards, after the death of Cromwell, revived theſe practices, and continued them to our own times. About

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It is evident, from the numerous ſchemes and propoſals for attacking the Spaniards, which were preſented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate, that the Engliſh in general, had a deep and juſt ſenſe of the wrongs which they ſuſtained from the bigotry, avarice, and cruelty of the Spaniſh nation.—We may ſurely conclude, that applications of ſuch a nature could not have been made to the ſupreme executive magiſtrate, with-

About the year 1680, they landed on the Iſland of Providence, one of the Bahamas, and totally deſtroyed the Engliſh ſettlement there. The governor (Mr. Clark) they took with them to Cuba, in irons, and put him to death by torture. Oldmixon, who wrote "The Britiſh Empire in America," was informed by Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's ſucceſſors, that the Spaniards roaſted Clark on a ſpit. The inſolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spaniſh guarda-coſtas, in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many perſons now living; and perhaps there are thoſe alive who were preſent when Captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the houſe of commons, which it would be thought might have animated every Britiſh heart to inſiſt on exemplary vengeance. The caſe was this:—A Spaniſh commander, after rummaging this man's veſſel for what he called contraband goods, without finding any, put Jenkins to the torture, and afterwards, without the ſmalleſt provocation, cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the king of England his maſter. Jenkins had preſerved the ear in a bottle, which he diſplayed to the Houſe of Commons. Being aſked by one of the members, what he thought or expected while in the hands of ſuch a barbarian? "I recommended (he replied) my ſoul to God, and my cauſe to my country."

See Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates.

out

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out any pretence of injury received. To ſuppoſe that a body of the ſubjects of any civilized ſtate, or that even any individual of ſound mind, would intrude into the national councils, and preſume to ſolicit a violation of the publick faith, and the commencement of hoſtilities towards a powerful ſtate and an ally, without any provocation, is to ſuppoſe a caſe which I believe never did occur in hiſtory, and which indeed it ſeems next to impoſſible ſhould happen. Among other perſons who preſented memorials on this occaſion, we find the names of Colonel Modyford and Thomas Gage. The former was one of the earlieſt and moſt enterpriſing planters of Barbadoes; and Gage had reſided twelve years in New Spain in prieſt's orders. He was brother of Sir Henry Gage, one of the Generals under Charles I. *(e)* and appears to have been a man of capacity and extenſive obſervation.

In his memorial, which is preſerved among the ſtate papers of Thurloe, he enters fully into a juſtification of the meaſures which he recommends. "None in conſcience (he obſerves) may better attempt ſuch an expulſion of the Spaniards from thoſe parts, than the Engliſh,

*(e)* This Sir Henry Gage was killed at the battle of Culham-Bridge, in 1644. He was anceſtor of the late General Gage, by whom I was favoured with this account of Thomas Gage.

who

who have been often expelled by them from our plantations; as from St. Chriſtopher's, St. Martin's, from Providence and from Tortugas, where the Engliſh were inhumanly and moſt barbarouſly treated by the Spaniards, who to this day watch for their beſt advantage to caſt us out of all our plantations, and ſay that all the iſlands as well as the main belong to them. And in conſcience it is lawful to caſt that enemy or troubleſome neighbour out of his dominions, that would, and hath attempted to caſt us out of ours."—He then proceeds to demonſtrate, that it is not a work of difficulty to diſlodge the Spaniards from ſome of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions, and recommends the firſt attack to be made on Hiſpaniola or Cuba; the former, he obſerves, "was the Spaniards' firſt plantation, and therefore it would be to them a bad omen to begin to loſe that, which they firſt enjoyed." "This iſland (he adds) is not one quarter of it inhabited, and ſo the more eaſy to take."—Gage, ſome years before, had publiſhed a book, which is now before me; entitled "A new Survey of the Weſt Indies." It contains much curious information reſpecting the ſtate of Spaniſh America, at the time that he reſided there. In the dedication to Fairfax, General of the parliament's forces, he combats, with great ſtrength of reaſoning, the pretenſions of the Spaniſh Crown to an ex-

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clusive right to the countries of the New World: "I know of no title," he observes, "that the "Spaniard hath (the Pope's donation excepted) "but force, which, by the same title may be "repelled.—And, as to the *first discovery*, to me "it seems as little reason, that the sailing of "a Spanish ship upon the coast of India, should "entitle the king of Spain to that country, as "the sailing of an Indian or English ship upon "the coast of Spain, should entitle either the "Indians or English unto the dominion thereof. "No question but the just right or title to "those countries, appertains to the natives them-"selves; who, if they should willingly and "freely invite the English to their protection, "what title soever they have in them, no doubt "they may legally transfer to others. But, "to end all disputes of this nature, since God "hath given the earth to the sons of men to "inhabit, and that there are many vast countries "in those parts not yet inhabited, either by "Spaniard or Indian, why should my country-"men, the English, be debarred from making "use of that, which God, from all beginning, "did ordain for the benefit of mankind?"

These, or similar arguments, and a long list of Spanish depredations on the subjects of England, made without doubt a deep impression on the mind of Cromwell. It appears indeed that

that the court of Spain, confcious of having merited the fevereft vengeance, forefaw an impending ftorm, and endeavoured to avert it. We are told by Thurloe, that Cardenas the ambaffador, in a private audience, congratulated the Protector on his elevation to the government, "affuring him of the true and conftant friendfhip of his mafter, either in the condition he then ftood, or that if he would go a ftep further, and take upon him the crown, his mafter would venture the crown of Spain to defend him in it." Thefe general difcourfes came afterwards to particular propofitions; which Cromwell received with a coldnefs that alarmed the ambaffador; who then defired that former treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms might be renewed, as the firft ftep towards a nearer union. It does not appear that Cromwell had any objection to this propofition. That he fought to involve the nation in an unprovoked and unneceffary war with Spain, or, as Ludlow expreffes it, that "he meant to engage thofe men in diftant fervices, who otherwife were ready to join in any party againft him at home," though it has been confidently afferted, has been afferted againft clear and fubftantial evidence. He demanded, it is true, fatisfaction for paft, and fecurity againft future injuries; and he appointed com-

miffioners

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miſſioners to treat with the Spaniſh ambaſſador thereupon; with whom ſeveral conferences were held, chiefly, ſays Thurloe, on the right interpretation of the treaty of 1630.—The reſult of thoſe conferences, which I ſhall give in Thurloe's own words, affords ſo full and clear a juſtification of the Protector's ſubſequent proceedings, that no excuſe can be offered for thoſe hiſtorians by whom this evidence has been wilfully ſuppreſſed.

THE chief difficulties (obſerves Thurloe) were the following, "1ſt. touching the Weſt Indies, "the debate whereof was occaſioned upon the "firſt article of the aforeſaid treaty of 1630, "whereby it is agreed, that there ſhould be "peace, amity, and friendſhip between the two "kings and their reſpective ſubjects in all parts "of the world, as well in Europe as elſewhere. "Upon this it was ſhewn, that in contravention "of this article, the Engliſh were treated by the "Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were met "in America, though ſailing to and from their "own plantations, and inſiſted that ſatisfaction "was to be given in this, and a good foundation of friendſhip laid in thoſe parts for the "future, between their reſpective ſubjects (the "Engliſh there being very conſiderable, and "whoſe ſafety and intereſt the government here "ought

"ought to provide for) or elſe there could be no "ſolid and laſting peace between the two ſtates "in Europe.

"THE ſecond difference was touching the "inquiſition, &c.—To theſe two, Don Alonſo "was pleaſed to anſwer; that to aſk a liberty "from the inquiſition, and *free ſailing in the* "*Weſt Indies*, was *to aſk his maſter's two eyes*; "and that *nothing could be done in thoſe* "*points, but according to the practices of former* "*times.*"

"THEN it came into debate, before Oliver "and his council, with which of theſe crowns "(France or Spain) an alliance was to be choſen. "Oliver himſelf was for war with Spain, *at leaſt* "*in the Weſt Indies, if ſatisfaction were not given* "*for the paſt damages, and things well ſettled for* "*the future. And moſt of the council went the* "*ſame way.*"

FROM the facts and recital which I have thus given, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only were the firſt aggreſſors, but had proceeded to thoſe hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of England, which are unjuſtifiable even in a ſtate of actual war; and, although the outrages complained of, were ſuch as the moſt inſignificant ſtate in the world would not have tamely ſubmitted to, from the moſt powerful; yet did

 Cromwell,

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Cromwell, in ſeeking redreſs, diſplay his regard to juſtice by his moderation and temper. He demanded, it is true, reparation for paſt injuries, and ſecurity againſt future; but he did not order repriſals to be made, until his demand was rejected, and until he was plainly told, that the ſame hoſtile line of conduct which the Spaniards had hitherto purſued towards the Engliſh in America ſhould be perſiſted in. Now, as Blome well obſerves, on this occaſion, "*war* "*muſt needs be juſtifiable, when peace is not* "*allowable.*"

THE courſe of my work would now bring me to a detail of the Protector's meaſures in conſequence of his appeal to force; the equipment of a powerful armanent, its miſcarriage at Hiſpaniola, and ſucceſs at Jamaica; but of all theſe tranſactions a very accurate and circumſtantial narrative has already been given in the hiſtory of Jamaica by Mr. Long; to whoſe account I cannot hope to add perſpicuity or force. Referring the reader, therefore, to that valuable work, for ſatisfactory information in theſe particulars, I ſhall conclude this chapter with an account of the ſtate of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions, as it was found by the Engliſh forces on its capture in May 1655; obſerving only, and I mention the circumſtance with a regret in which I am

am ſure the reader will participate, that Gage, who planned and embarked in the expedition, periſhed in it!

The whole number of white inhabitants on the iſland, including women and children, did not exceed fifteen hundred. Penn, in his examination before the Protector's council, on the 12th of September 1655, ſtates them at twelve or fourteen hundred only, of whom he ſays about five hundred men were in arms when the Engliſh landed. It is remarkable however that Blome, who compiled a ſhort account of Jamaica ſo early as 1672, avers that the town of St. Jago de la Vega conſiſted of two thouſand houſes, two churches, two chapels and an abbey. There muſt therefore have happened at ſome period a wonderful diminution in the number of the white inhabitants, and the expulſion of the Portugueſe ſettlers, as related by this author, appears the more probable. Blome perhaps has given an exaggerated account of the number of the houſes; but ſufficient evidence remained, until within theſe few years, of the buildings conſecrated to divine worſhip, particularly of the two churches and the abbey.

Of the other principal ſettlements, the chief appears to have been at Port Caguay, ſince named by the Engliſh Port Royal; but though it was next in conſequence to St. Jago, it was

 probably

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probably nothing more than an inconſiderable hamlet, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of ſome ſmall traffick with the ſhips bound from Hiſpaniola to the continent. Its ſubſequent riſe and extenſive proſperity, its deplorable wickedneſs and fatal cataſtrophe, are circumſtances too well known to be repeated *(f)*.

To the weſtward of Caguay was the port of Eſquivel (Puerta de Eſquivella) ſo called, I preſume, in honour of the governor of that name. This port ſeems indeed to have been almoſt deſerted at the time of the conqueſt in 1655, the Spaniards giving the preference to Caguay; but it was ſtill reſorted to by the galleons, as a place of ſhelter during the hurricane months, and, from its ancient reputation, the Engliſh named it *Old Harbour*.

*(f)* The following ſingular inſcription appears on a tomb-ſtone, at Green-Bay, adjoining the Apoſtles' Battery, near this town.

"DIEU SUR TOUT.

"Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Eſq. who departed this life at Port Royal, the 22d December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier, in France, but left that country for his religion, and came to ſettle in this iſland, where he was ſwallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692, and by the providence of God, was by another ſhock thrown into the ſea, and miraculouſly ſaved by ſwimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."

FROM

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FROM Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the weſtern point of the iſland, the ſea-coaſt was chiefly in ſavanna, abounding in horned cattle; but there does not appear to have been any ſettlement in all that great extent of country, except a ſmall hamlet called Oriſtan, of which however the exact ſituation cannot now be aſcertained.

RETURNING eaſtward, to the north of Port Caguay was the Hato de Liguany; preſenting to the harbour an extenſive plain or ſavanna, covered with cedar and other excellent timber. This part of the country was alſo abundantly ſtored with horned cattle and horſes, which ran wild in great numbers; and the firſt employment of the Engliſh troops was hunting and ſlaughtering the cattle, for the ſake of the hides and tallow, which ſoon became an article of export. It was ſuppoſed by Sedgewicke, that the ſoldiers had killed 20,000 in the courſe of the firſt four months after their arrival; and as to horſes, "they were in ſuch plenty (ſays Good-"ſon) *that we accounted them the vermin of the* "*country* (g)."

EASTWARD

(g) "Colonel Barry's houſe all galleried round (now called Cavaliers) was formerly, when the Spaniards poſſeſſed the iſland, the only place in Liguany inhabited; a rich widow

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Eastward of Liguany was the Hato, by ſome called *Ayala*, by others *Yalos*, and now wrote *Yallahs*; a place, ſaith Venables "which hath much commodity of planting or erecting of ſugar engines of water, by reaſon of two convenient rivers running through it fit for that purpoſe." Next to Ayala was the Hato called *Morante*. This Morante (ſaith Venables) "is a large and plentiful Hato, being four leagues in length, conſiſting of many ſmall ſavannas, and has wild cattle and hogs in very great plenty, and ends at the Mine, which is at the Cape or Point of Morante itſelf, by which toward the north is the port Antonio."

Such is the account of Jamaica as tranſmitted in General Venables's letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June 1655. The reader will perceive that no mention is made of the northern ſide of the iſland; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly the fact, that it was one entire deſert, from eaſt to weſt, totally uncultivated and uninhabited.

Of the inland parts, it appears from Sloane, that Guanaboa was famous for its cacao-trees,

widow had here a ſugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the ſavannas, near 40,000." (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.) —The mountains of Liguany were ſuppoſed alſo to contain mines both of gold and copper.

and

and the low lands of Clarendon for plantations of tobacco. CHAP. II.

UPON the whole, although the Spaniards had poſſeſſed the iſland a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in cultivation when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it. Yet the Spaniſh ſettlers had no ſooner exterminated, in the manner we have ſeen, the original proprietors, than they had recourſe, with their neighbours of Hiſpaniola, to the introduction of ſlaves from Africa. We are told that the number of negroes in the iſland, at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the Whites. It is not eaſy to diſcover to what uſeful purpoſe the labour of theſe Blacks was applied. The ſloth and penury of the Spaniſh planters, when the Engliſh landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has ſince produced in ſo great abundance, ſome were altogether unknown, and of the reſt the inhabitants cultivated no more than were ſufficient for their own expenditure. Their principal export, beſides cacao, conſiſted of hogs-lard and hides. The ſale of theſe articles, and ſupplying the few ſhips that touched at their ports with proviſions, in barter for European manufactures, conſtituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the ſavages of Madagaſcar conduct with equal ability and

 ſucceſs.

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ſucceſs. They poſſeſſed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of thoſe gratifications which, in civilized ſtates, are conſidered as neceſſary to the comfort and convenience of it. They were neither poliſhed by ſocial intercourſe, nor improved by education; but paſſed their days in gloomy langour, enfeebled by ſloth and depreſſed by poverty. Having at the ſame time but little or no connection with Europe, nor the means of ſending their children thither for education (a circumſtance that might have introduced among them, from time to time, ſome portion of civility and ſcience) they had been for many years in a ſtate of progreſſive degeneracy, and would probably, in a ſhort time, have expiated the guilt of their anceſtors, by falling victims themſelves to the vengeance of their ſlaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and diſpoſitions of all the Spaniſh Americans. It muſt however be acknowledged, that if they poſſeſſed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unſtained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterpriſing genius; that unconquerable perſeverance, that contempt of toil, danger, and death, which ſo wonderfully diſtinguiſhed the great adventurers, who firſt explored and added a new hemiſphere to the Spaniſh dominion; we muſt own at the

ſame

ſame time, that they were happily free from their guilty ambition; their remorſeleſs fanaticiſm, and frantick cruelty. But, whatever was their character, it is impoſſible to juſtify the hard terms impoſed by the Engliſh commanders on the poor ſettlers in Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver up their ſlaves and effects, and quit the country altogether. They pleaded that they were born in the iſland, and had neither relations, friends, nor country elſewhere, and they declared that they were reſolved to periſh in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign ſoil. This was their final anſwer to the propoſitions of Venables, the Engliſh General, nor could they be brought again to enter into any treaty. The reſiſtance they afterwards made againſt the efforts of our troops to expel them from the iſland, may furniſh this important leſſon to conquerors—that even victory has its limits, and that injuſtice and tyranny frequently defeat their own purpoſes *(h)*.

*(h)* The articles of capitulation firſt agreed on, which may be ſeen in Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, are ſufficiently liberal. By theſe all the inhabitants (ſome few individuals excepted) had their lives and effects granted them, and permiſſion to remain in the country; but on the 4th of June, Venables informs the Lord Protector, that the inhabitants having broken their promiſes and engagements, he had ſeized the Governor and other chief perſons, and compelled

compelled them to ſubſcribe new articles.—What thoſe were he does not ſay. It appears, however, that it was ſtipulated by one of them, that the Spaniſh part of the inhabitants ſhould leave the Iſland; and it ſeems probable that this meaſure was promoted by the intrigues of the Portugueſe; for, in a ſubſequent letter, Venables writes thus: "The Portugueſes we hope to make good ſubjects of; the Spaniards we ſhall remove." The particulars related in the text, concerning the effect of this determination on the minds of thoſe poor people, are given on the authority of a paper ſigned, J. Daniel, dated Jamaica 3d of June, and preſerved among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504.

## CHAP. III.

*Proceedings of the Englifh in Jamaica after its capture.—Col. D'Oyley declared prefident.—Difcontents and mortality among the army.—Vigorous exertions of the Protector.—Col. Brayne appointed commander in chief.—His death.—D'Oyley reaffumes the government.—Defeats the Spanifh forces, which had invaded the ifland from Cuba.—His wife and fteady adminiftration.—Bucaniers.—Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his reftoration.—Firft eftablifhment of a regular government in Jamaica.—Lord Windfor's appointment.—Royal proclamation.—American treaty in 1670.—Change of meafures on the part of the crown.—New conftitution devifed for Jamaica.—Earl of Carlifle appointed chief governor for the purpofe of enforcing the new fyftem.—Succefsful oppofition of the affembly.—Subfequent difputes refpecting the confirmation of their laws.—Terminated by the revenue act of* 1728.

CHAP. III.

AFTER the capture of the ifland, until the reftoration of Charles II. the Englifh in Jamaica remained under military jurifdiction. Cromwell had nominated Winflow, Serle and Butler, to act as

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as commiſſioners, with Penn and Venables, intending, I preſume, to conſtitute by this arrangement a council of ſtate, whoſe authority might mitigate the rigour of the law-martial; but the two generals, with commiſſioner Butler, returning to England without leave, the ſole command of the army devolved on Major GeneralForteſcue, and of the fleet on Admiral Goodſon. Nevertheleſs it was the intention of Cromwell to have eſtabliſhed a civil government in the iſland on very liberal principles. Soon after he received the account of its capture, he iſſued a proclamation declaratory of that purpoſe, and on the return to England of Commiſſioner Butler, he ſent over Major Sedgewicke to ſupply his place. Sedgewicke arrived in Jamaica in October, but Winſlow and Serle having in the mean time fallen victims to the climate, he was unwilling to act under the Protector's commiſſion without further aſſiſtance. An inſtrument of government was thereupon framed, and ſubſcribed, on the eighth of October 1655, by Sedgewicke and the principal officers, who thereby conſtituted themſelves a ſupreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the iſland; of which Forteſcue was declared preſident, and he dying ſoon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was choſen to preſide in his room. But the ſituation of the troops required martial

array,

array, and ſtrict diſcipline; for the diſpoſſeſſed Spaniards and fugitive negroes continued to haraſs the ſoldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambuſh. The Spaniſh blacks had ſeparated themſelves from their late maſters, and murdered, without mercy, ſuch of the Engliſh as rambling about the country fell into their hands. They were even ſo audacious as to venture by night to attack the Engliſh troops in their quarters, and to ſet fire to ſome of the houſes in which they were lodged, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

But the Protector was determined to maintain his conqueſt, and ſeemed anxiouſly bent on peopling the iſland. While recruits were raiſing in England, he directed the governors of Barbadoes, and the other Britiſh colonies to windward (which at that time were exceedingly populous) to encourage ſome of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the aſſurance of their having lands aſſigned them there. He diſpatched an agent to New England on a ſimilar errand, as well as to engage the people of the northern provinces to furniſh proviſions to the newly-acquired territory. He gave inſtructions to his ſon Henry Cromwell, who was Major General of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thouſand young perſons of both ſexes from thence, to become ſettlers in Jamaica; and he correſponded with the

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the lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh, on the beſt means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the ſame purpoſe from Scotland.

In the mean while the old ſoldiers within the iſland, diſliking their ſituation, and conceiving, from the preparations of the government at home, that the Protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became diſſatisfied and ſeditious. Other cauſes indeed concurred to awaken among them ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent as approached nearly to mutiny. Having at firſt found in the country cattle and ſwine in great abundance, they had deſtroyed them with ſuch improvidence and wantonneſs of profuſion, as to occaſion a ſcarcity of freſh proviſions in a place which had been repreſented as abounding in the higheſt degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes ſpoilt by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the ſoldiers, with great earneſtneſs, to cultivate the ſoil, and raiſe, by their own induſtry, Indian corn, pulſe and caſſavi, ſufficient for their maintenance. They endeavoured to make them ſenſible that ſupplies from England muſt neceſſarily be caſual and uncertain; and, perſuaſion failing, they would have compelled them by

force

force to plant the ground; but the ſubaltern officers concurred with the private men, abſolutely refuſing to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to their own preſervation by the means recommended. They were poſſeſſed of a paſſionate longing to return to England, and fondly imagined that the continual great expence of maintaining ſo large a body of troops at ſo great a diſtance, would induce the Protector to relinquiſh his conqueſt. They even rooted up the proviſions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. "Our ſoldiers (writes Sedgewicke) have deſtroyed all ſorts of proviſions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them whereſoever they go. Dig or plant, they neither will nor can, but are determined rather to ſtarve than work." A ſcarcity, approaching to a famine, was at length the conſequence of ſuch miſconduct, and it was accompanied with its uſual attendants, diſeaſe and contagion. Perhaps there are but few deſcriptions in hiſtory wherein a greater variety of horrors are accumulated than in the letters addreſſed on this occaſion by Sedgewicke and the other principal officers, to the government at home, which are preſerved among Thurloe's ſtate papers. Such was the want of food, that ſnakes, lizards and other vermin, were eagerly eaten, together with unripe fruits and

noxious

BOOK II. noxious vegetables. This unwholeſome diet concurred with other circumſtances to produce an epidemick dyſentery, which raged like the plague. For a conſiderable time 140 men died weekly, and Sedgewicke himſelf at length periſhed in the general carnage.

The Protector, as ſoon as he had received information of the diſtracted and calamitous ſtate of the colony, exerted himſelf, with his uſual vigour, to afford it relief. Proviſions and neceſſaries of all kinds were ſhipped without delay; and Cromwell, diſtruſtful it is ſaid of D'Oyley's attachment, ſuperſeded him, by granting a commiſſion of commander in chief of Jamaica, to Col. Brayne, governor of Lochabar in Scotland. This gentleman, with a fleet of tranſports, and a reinforcement of one thouſand recruits, ſailed from Port Patrick, the beginning of October 1656, and arrived at Jamaica in December following. Col. Humphreys with his regiment, conſiſting of 830 men, had landed, ſome time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with 1,500 perſons collected in the Windward Iſlands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an eſtabliſhment near to the Port of Morant, where ſome of Stoke's deſcendants, of the ſame name, poſſeſs at this day conſiderable property. Another regiment, commanded by Col. Moore, arrived in the

the beginning of 1657 from Ireland, and ſome induſtrious planters followed ſoon afterwards from New England and Bermudas.

BRAYNE's firſt accounts are very diſcouraging. He complains that he found all things in the utmoſt confuſion; that violent animoſities ſubſiſted among the troops; and, above all, that there was a great want of men *cordial to the buſineſs*; ſuch is his expreſſion. He deſires a remittance of £. 5,000, to enable him to erect fortifications, and a further ſupply of proviſions for ſix months; ſtrenuouſly recommending, at the ſame time, a general liberty of trade between the iſland and all nations in amity with England; an indulgence which he thinks would ſpeedily encourage planters enough to ſettle in, and improve, the country.

BUT Brayne, though a man of ſagacity and penetration, wanted firmneſs and fortitude. The troops ſtill continued unhealthy, and ſickneſs ſpreading rapidly amongſt the new comers, Brayne, alarmed for his own ſafety, became as little cordial to the buſineſs of ſettling as the reſt. He prayed moſt earneſtly for permiſſion to return to England. In the mean while, by way (as he writes) of precaution againſt a fever, he weakened himſelf to a great degree by copious bloodletting; a practice which probably proved fatal to him; for he died at the end of ten months after his arrival. A few days before his death,

BOOK II.

death, finding himſelf in imminent danger, he ſent to D'Oyley, and formally transferred his authority to that officer. D'Oyley happily poſſeſſed all thoſe qualifications in which Brayne was deficient; yet he entered on his charge with reluctance; for having already been roughly ſuperſeded by the Protector, he expected perhaps ſuch another diſmiſſion. In the letters which he addreſſed to Cromwell and Fleetwood, on the event of Brayne's deceaſe, he expreſſes himſelf with propriety and dignity. "Your highneſs," he obſerves to Cromwell, "is not to be told how difficult it is to command an army without pay, and I tremble to think of the diſcontents I am to ſtruggle withal, until the return of your commands; though I bleſs God I have the affection of the people here, beyond any that ever yet commanded them; and a ſpirit of my own not to ſink under the weight of unreaſonable diſcontents." To Fleetwood he writes, "I would have refuſed to accept of this command, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulneſs to my country; but I am now reſolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highneſs, or a diſcharge from him, which I humbly deſire your lordſhip to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bleſs God I have a ſoul much above them. Pray, my lord, decline your greatneſs, and com-

* mand

mand your secretary to give me an answer; for if I were disrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country."

It was fortunate for his country that his resignation was not accepted, and that the Protector, sensible at length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, seconded and supported by the affection which his soldiers, under all their difficulties and distresses, manifested on every occasion towards him, we owe at this day the possession of Jamaica; the recapture whereof by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great national concern. Its defenceless state, the dissatisfaction of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as to augment their numbers, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that the juncture was then arrived for retrieving the honour of his country, by the restoration of this island to its dominion. Having communicated to the viceroy of Mexico, a scheme built on this idea, and received the sanction and support of that officer, he made preparations for a formidable invasion, and appointed Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time

BOOK II.

of its capture, to take the conduct and command of the enterprize.

On the eighth of May 1658, thirty companies of Spanish infantry landed at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north side of the island. They were provided with provisions for eight months, with ordnance and ammunition of all kinds, and they brought engineers and artificers for erecting extensive fortifications. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and six weeks more intervened by the time that he was able to approach them by sea. During this interval, the Spaniards had established themselves in great force; but D'Oyley at length reaching Rio Nuevo, with seven hundred and fifty of his best-disciplined soldiers, attacked them in their entrenchments; carried by assault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour; and compelled the late unfortunate governor to get back as he could to Cuba, after the loss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition and colours, and of one half the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have been more decisive; nor does history furnish many instances of greater military skill and intrepidity, than those which were displayed by the English on this occasion.

After so signal a defeat, the Spaniards made no

no effort of conſequence to reclaim Jamaica. CHAP. III.
A party of the ancient Spaniſh inhabitants, however, ſtill lurked in the woods, and Saſi, their governor, had returned to ſhare their fortunes; but a body of their fugitive negroes having ſurrendered to D'Oyley on the promiſe of freedom, theſe wretches informed him where their late maſters were ſheltered; and joined ſome troops that were ſent in purſuit of them: thus the poor Spaniards were entirely routed, and the few that ſurvived, by eſcaping to Cuba, took their laſt farewel of a country, on their fond attachment to which, it is not poſſible to reflect without emotions of pity.

By the wiſe, ſteady and provident adminiſtration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the iſland began at length to wear a more promiſing aſpect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some ſucceſsful efforts in raiſing Indian corn, caſſavi, tobacco, and cacao, had given encouragement to a ſpirit of planting. The arrival of ſeveral merchant ſhips, for the purpoſe of traffick, contributed ſtill further to the promotion of induſtry, and, on the whole, the dawn of future proſperity began to be viſible.

But, as hath been truly obſerved by a well-informed author *(a)*, nothing contributed ſo

*(a)* European Settlements.

BOOK II.

much to the ſettlement and opulence of this iſland in early times, as the reſort to it of thoſe men called Bucaniers; the wealth which they acquired having been ſpeedily transferred to people whoſe induſtry was employed in cultivation or commerce. Of that ſingular aſſociation of adventurers it were to be wiſhed that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given: I will juſt obſerve in this place, that ſuch of them as belonged to Jamaica were not thoſe piratical plunderers and publick robbers which they are commonly repreſented. A Spaniſh war, commenced on the juſteſt grounds on the part of the Engliſh, ſtill prevailing in the Weſt Indies, they were furniſhed with regular letters of marque and repriſal. After the reſtoration of Charles II. the king ordered that they ſhould receive every encouragement and protection; nor, if we may believe Sir William Beeſton *(b)*, did his majeſty diſdain to become a partner in the bucaniering expeditions. It is indeed related, that he continued to exact and receive a ſhare of the booty, even after he had publickly iſſued orders for the ſuppreſſion of this ſpecies of hoſtility *(c)*.

PEOPLE

*(b)* MS. Journal *penes me.*

*(c)* The favour extended by the king to Henry Morgan, the moſt celebrated of the Engliſh Bucaniers (a man indeed of an elevated

CHAP. III.

PEOPLE of all professions, and from all parts of the British empire, now resorted to Jamaica. The confusions which overspread England after the death of Cromwell, impelled many to seek for safety and quiet in the Plantations. Some of those men who had distinguished themselves by their activity, in bringing their unhappy monarch to the scaffold, considered this island as a sure place of refuge. Foreseeing, from the temper which began to prevail amongst all ranks of people in England, especially towards the beginning of the year 1660, that the nation was united in its wishes for the re-establishment of the ancient frame of government, they hoped to find that safety in a colony composed of Cromwell's adherents, which they were apprehensive would shortly be denied them at home *(d)*.

BUT

elevated mind and invincible courage) arose doubtless, in a great measure, from the *good understanding* that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the Earl of Carlisle returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy-governor and lieutenant-general in his absence; and, proceeding himself, at a subsequent period, to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope, therefore, and indeed have good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no foundation in truth.

*(d)* Some of those men who had sat as judges at the trial of

BOOK II.

But although men of this ſtamp were ſilently permitted to fix themſelves in the iſland, the general body both of the army and people caught the reviving flame of loyalty, and ſincerely participated in the national triumph on the king's return. The reſtored monarch, on his part, not only overlooked their paſt tranſgreſſions, but prudently forebore alſo to awaken their jealouſy, by enquiring after any of thoſe obnoxious characters to whom they had afforded protection. To conciliate the affections of the coloniſts, whoſe valour had annexed ſo important an appendage to his dominions, the king even confirmed their favourite General in his command;

of Charles I. are ſaid to have become peaceable ſettlers here, and to have remained after the Reſtoration unnoticed and unmoleſted. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harriſon was earneſtly preſſed to follow their example; but, ſuitably to his character, he gloried in the ignominious death that awaited him. After his execution, his children fixed their fortunes in this iſland, where ſome of his deſcendants, in the female line, are ſtill living, in good credit, in the pariſh of St. Andrew. It is reported alſo, that the remains of Preſident Bradſhaw were interred in Jamaica; and I obſerve in a ſplendid book, entitled *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, an epitaph which is ſaid to have been inſcribed on a cannon that was placed on the Preſident's grave; but it is, to my own knowledge, a modern compoſition. Preſident Bradſhaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Weſtminſter abbey. A ſon of Scott, the Regicide, fixed himſelf in this iſland, and ſettled the plantation called Y S in St. Elizabeth.

appointing

appointing D'Oyley, by a commiſſion which bore date the thirteenth of February 1661, chief governor of the iſland. He was ordered, at the ſame time, to releaſe the army from military ſubordination, to erect courts of judicature, and, with the advice of a council *to be elected by the inhabitants*, to paſs laws ſuitable to the exigencies of the colony. CHAP. III.

THIS memorable appointment of General D'Oyley, with a council elected by the people, may be conſidered as the firſt eſtabliſhment of a regular civil government in Jamaica, after the Engliſh had become maſters of it; but, in order to create full confidence of ſecurity in the minds of the inhabitants, further meaſures were neceſſary on the part of the ſovereign; and they were readily adopted. D'Oyley deſiring to be recalled, the Lord Windſor was nominated in his room, and directed to publiſh, on his arrival, a royal and gracious proclamation, wherein, for the purpoſe of encouraging the ſettlement of the country, allotments of land were offered under ſuch terms as were uſual in other plantations, with ſuch farther convenient and ſuitable privileges and immunities, as the grantees ſhould reaſonably require. The proclamation then proceeds in the words following:—" And we do further publiſh " and declare, that all the children of our na-" tural-born ſubjects of England, to be born in

" Jamaica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RSPECTIVE " BIRTHS, BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL " BE, FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND " SHALL HAVE THE SAME PRIVILEGES, TO " ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, AS OUR " FREE-BORN SUBJECTS OF ENGLAND; and " that all free perſons ſhall have liberty, with- " out interruption, to tranſport themſelves " and their families, and any of their goods, " (except only coin and bullion) from any of " our dominions and territories to the ſaid " iſland of Jamaica, &c *(e)*."——Theſe impor- tant

*(e)* As the reader may be deſirous of ſeeing this proclamation at large, it is here inſerted *verbatim*.

" *Decima Septima Pars Patentium de Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Tertio decimo. Car. 2di. 13tio.*

A PROCLAMACON, *for the encouraging of Planters in his Majeſty's iſland of Jamaica in the* Weſt-Indies.

WEE being fully ſatisfied that our iſland of Jamaica, being
5. a pleaſant and moſt fertile ſoyle, and ſcituate comodiouſly for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's bleſſing, to bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt, for encourageing of our ſubjects, as well ſuch as are already upon the ſaid iſland, as all others that ſhall tranſport themſelves thither, and reſide and plant there, to declare and publiſh, and wee doe hereby declare and publiſh, that thirtie acres of improveable lands ſhall bee granted and allotted, to every ſuch perſon, male or female, being twelve years old, or upwards, who now reſides, or within two years next enſuing, ſhall reſide upon the ſaid

Stamp. VI. Pence.

tant declarations have always been juſtly conſidered, by the inhabitants of Jamaica, as a ſolemn recognition and confirmation by the crown, of thoſe rights which are inherent in, and unalienable from, the perſon of a ſubject of England, and of which, ſo long as he preſerves his

ſaid iſland, and that the ſame ſhall bee aſſigned and ſett out by the governor and councell, within ſix weekes next after notice ſhall bee given, in writing, ſubſcribed by ſuch planter or planters, or ſome of them in behalfe of the reſt, to the governor or ſuch officer as hee ſhall appoint in that behalfe, ſignifying their reſolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place; and in caſe they doe not goe thither, within ſix months then next enſuing, the ſaid allotment ſhall be void, and free to bee aſſigned to any other planter, and that every perſon and perſons to whom ſuch aſſignment ſhall bee made, ſhall hold and enjoy the ſaid lands, ſoe to bee aſſigned, and all houſes, edifices, buildings and incloſures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under ſuch tenures as is uſual in other plantations ſubject to us. Nevertheleſſe they are to bee obliged to ſerve in armies upon any inſurrection, mutiny, or forraine invaſion, and that the ſaid aſſignments and allotments ſhall be made and confirmed under the publique ſeale of the ſaid iſland, with power to create any mannor or mannors, and with ſuch convenient and ſuitable priveledges and imunities as the grantee ſhall reaſonably deſire and require, and a draught of ſuch aſſignment ſhall bee prepared by our learned councell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpoſe, and that all fiſhings and piſcharies, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coales and all other mines (except gold and ſilver) within ſuch reſpective allotments ſhall bee enjoyed by the grantees thereof, reſerving only a twentieth part of the product of the ſaid mines to our uſe. And wee doe further publiſh

Stamp. VI. Pence

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his allegiance, emigration for the benefit of the ſtate cannot, and ſurely ought not, to diveſt him. Purſuant to, and in the ſpirit of the proclamation, the governor was inſtructed to call an aſſembly, to be indifferently choſen by the people at large, that they might paſs laws for their own internal regulation and government; a privilege, which being enjoyed by ſuch of their fellow ſubjects as remained within the realm, it is preſumed they had an undoubted right to exerciſe, with this limitation only, that the laws which they

liſh and declare, that all children of any of our naturall-borne ſubjects of *England*, to bee borne in *Jamaica*, ſhall from their reſpective births, bee reputed to bee, and ſhall bee, free Denizens of *England;* and ſhall have the ſame priveledges, to all intents and purpoſes, as our free-borne ſubjects of *England*, and that all free perſons ſhall have libertie without interruption, to tranſport themſelves, and their families and any their goods (except onley coyne and bullion) from any our dominions and territories to the ſaid iſland of *Jamaica.* And wee doe ſtrictly charge and command all planters, ſoldiers and others, upon the ſaid iſland, to yield obedience to the lawfull commands of our right truſty and welbeloved Thomas Lord *Windſor*, now our governor of our ſaid iſland, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our diſpleaſure and ſuch penalties as may bee inflicted thereupon. *Given at our courte at* Whitehall, *the fourteenth day of* December. *P'. ipm'. Regem.*

*This is a true copy of the original record remaining in the Chapple of the Rolls, having been examined by me*

Henry Rooke, *Cl' of the Rolls.*

*VERA-COPIA.*

they ſhould paſs, were not ſubverſive of their dependance on the parent ſtate *(f)*. CHAP. III.

To theſe ſeveral teſtimonies of royal juſtice and favour towards the new coloniſts, may be added the additional ſecurity obtained for them by the American treaty, concluded and ſigned at Madrid in the month of June 1670. For, after the reſtoration, doubts were raiſed by the partizans of royalty, whether, as the elevation of Cromwell was adjudged an uſurpation, the conqueſts which had been made under the ſanction of his authority, could be rightfully maintained by a kingly government? Although nothing could well be more futile than theſe ſuggeſtions, it was nevertheleſs thought neceſſary to guard againſt the concluſions which Spain might deduce from them. This precaution partly gave riſe to the ſeventh article of the treaty above referred to, which is conceived in the words following, viz. "The King of Great Britain, his "heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall have, hold and "poſſeſs, for ever, with full right of ſovereign

*(f)* His Majeſty was likewiſe pleaſed to favour the iſland with a broad ſeal with the following arms, viz. a croſs gules charged with five pine-apples in a field argent; *ſupporters*, two Indians plum'd and condaled; *creſt*, an alligator vivant. The inſcription in the orb,

> Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem
> Nec ſterilis eſt crux.

"dominion,

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"dominion, property and poffeffion, all lands, "countries, iflands, colonies and dominions "whatever, fituated in the Weft Indies, or any "part of America, which the faid king of Great "Britain and his fubjects, do, at this prefent, "hold and poffefs; fo that in regard thereof, or "upon any colour or pretence whatever, nothing "may or ought ever to be urged, nor any quef-"tion or controverfy moved concerning the "fame hereafter *(g)*."

HITHERTO, it muft be admitted that the fovereign authority was properly exerted in defence of the juft rights of the crown, and in fecuring to its diftant fubjects the enjoyment of their poffeffions; but unhappily Charles II. had neither fteadinefs nor integrity. About the period of the American treaty, a fcheme having beeen formed by him, or his miniftry, for fubverting the liberties of the people at home, it is the lefs wonderful, that the privileges enjoyed by the colonifts abroad, fhould have been regarded by the king with a jealoufy, which, encreafing with the encreafe of their numbers,

*(g)* From this recital may be feen the folly of the very prevalent notion, that the fovereigns of Spain, or fome of their fubjects, ftill keep up pretenfions to Jamaica, or claim property therein, as not having been formally ceded to the crown of England.

broke

broke out at length into acts of open hoſtility and violence towards them. CHAP. III.

In the beginning of 1678, the ſtorm fell on Jamaica. A new ſyſtem of legiſlation was adopted for this iſland, founded nearly on the model of the Iriſh conſtitution under Poynings's act; and the Earl of Carliſle was appointed chief governor for the purpoſe of enforcing it. A body of laws was prepared by the privy council of England, among the reſt a bill for ſettling a perpetual revenue on the crown, which his lordſhip was directed to offer to the aſſembly, requiring them to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration. In future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be ſuggeſted in the firſt inſtance by the governor and council, and tranſmitted to his majeſty to be approved or rejected at home; on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great ſeal in the ſhape of laws, and paſſed by the general aſſembly; which was to be convened for no other purpoſe than that, and the buſineſs of voting the uſual ſupplies; unleſs in conſequence of ſpecial orders from England.

If we reflect only on the diſtance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without heſitation, that it was impoſſible for the colony to exiſt under ſuch a conſtitution and ſyſtem of government. What miſconduct on the part

BOOK II. part of the inhabitants, or what ſecret expectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to determine. The moſt probable opinion is this.—In the year 1663, the aſſembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on, by very unjuſtifiable means, as will hereafter be ſhewn, to grant an internal revenue to the crown, of 4½ per cent. on the groſs exported produce of that iſland for ever. It is not unlikely that the ſteady refuſal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themſelves and their poſterity with a ſimilar impoſition, exciting the reſentment of the king, firſt ſuggeſted the idea of depriving them of thoſe conſtitutional franchiſes which alone could give ſecurity and value to their poſſeſſions. Happily for the preſent inhabitants, neither ſecret intrigue nor undiſguiſed violence were ſucceſsful. Their gallant anceſtors tranſmitted to their poſterity their eſtates unincumbered with ſuch a tax, and their political rights unimpaired by the ſyſtem of government attempted to be forced on them. "The aſſembly (ſays Mr. Long) rejected the new conſtitution with indignation. No threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments perſuade them to conſent to laws that would enſlave their poſterity." Let me add, as a tribute of juſt acknowledgment to the noble efforts of this gentleman's great anceſtor,

Col.

CHAP. III.

Col. Long, that it was to *him*, Jamaica was principally indebted for its deliverance. As chief judge of the iſland, and member of the council, he exerted, on this important occaſion, the powers with which he was inveſted, with ſuch ability and fortitude, in defence of the people, as to baffle and finally overpower every effort to enſlave them. The governor, after diſmiſſing him from the poſts which he had filled with ſuch honour to himſelf, and advantage to the publick, conveyed him a ſtate priſoner to England. Theſe deſpotick meaſures were ultimately productive of good. Col. Long, being heard before the king and privy council, pointed out with ſuch force of argument, the evil tendency of the meaſures which had been purſued, that the Engliſh miniſtry reluctantly ſubmitted. The aſſembly had their deliberative powers reſtored to them, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who had preſided in the iſland as lieutenant-governor from 1670 to 1674, very much to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, was appointed captain-general and chief governor in the room of Lord Carliſle *(h)*.

*(h)* I have ſubjoined, as an appendix to this book, "an hiſ-"torical Account of the Conſtitution of Jamaica," wherein the particulars of Lord Carliſle's adminiſtration are detailed at large.—This hiſtorical account is now publiſhed for the firſt time, and cannot fail of proving extremely acceptable to the reader.

It

It might have been hoped that all poſſible cauſe of future conteſt with the crown, on the queſtion of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the aſſembly had recovered the ineſtimable privilege of framing ſuch laws for their internal government as their exigencies might require, of which doubtleſs themſelves alone were competent to judge, and although it was not alledged that the laws which they had paſſed, as well before, as after the re-eſtabliſhment of their rights, were repugnant to thoſe of the mother-country, yet the royal confirmation of a great part of them had been conſtantly refuſed, and ſtill continued to be withheld. It was indeed admitted, that the Engliſh who captured the iſland, carried with them as their birthright, the law of England as it then ſtood; but much of the Engliſh law was inapplicable to the ſituation and condition of the new coloniſts; and it was contended that they had no right to any ſtatute of the Britiſh parliament, which had paſſed ſubſequent to their emigration, unleſs its proviſions were ſpecially extended to the colony by name. The courts of judicature within the iſland, had however, from neceſſity, admitted many ſuch ſtatutes to be pleaded, and grounded ſeveral judgments and important determinations upon them; and the aſſembly had paſſed

paſſed bills adopting ſeveral of the Engliſh ſtatutes which did not otherwiſe bind the iſland; but ſeveral of thoſe bills, when ſent home for the royal confirmation, and thoſe judgments and determinations of the courts of law, when brought by appeal before the king and council, though not diſallowed, remained unconfirmed; and in this unſettled ſtate, the affairs of Jamaica were ſuffered to remain for the ſpace of fifty years.

The true cauſe of ſuch inflexibility on the part of the crown, was no other than the old ſtory of revenue. For the purpoſe, as it was pretended, of defraying the expence of erecting and repairing fortifications, and for anſwering ſome other publick contingencies, the miniſters of Charles II. had procured, as hath been related, from the aſſembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from moſt of the other Britiſh Weſt Indian colonies, the grant of a perpetual internal revenue. The refuſal of Jamaica, to conſent to a ſimilar eſtabliſhment; the puniſhment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have already been ſtated; but it was found that the lenity of the crown in relinquiſhing the ſyſtem of compulſion, was expected to produce that effect which tyranny had failed to accompliſh. The Engliſh government claimed a return from the people of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppreſſive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon

them a poſitive and permanent benefit; a claim in which all the Britiſh miniſters, from the reſtoration of King Charles, to the reign of George II. very cordially concurred.

THE aſſembly however remained unconvinced. Among other objections, they pleaded that the money granted by the Iſland of Barbadoes was notoriouſly appropriated to purpoſes widely different from thoſe for which it was expreſsly given; and they demanded ſome pledge, or ſecurity, againſt a ſimilar miſapplication, in caſe they ſhould ſubject their country to a permament and irrevocable tax. The miniſters refuſed to give any ſatisfaction in this particular; and finding that the aſſembly were equally reſolute to paſs their ſupply bills from year to year only, as uſual, they adviſed the ſovereign, from a ſpirit of vindictive policy, to wave the confirmation of the laws, and to ſuffer the adminiſtration of juſtice in the iſland, to remain on the precarious footing that I have deſcribed.

SUCH was the actual ſituation of Jamaica until the year 1728, when a compromiſe was happily effected. In that year, the Aſſembly conſented to ſettle on the crown a ſtanding irrevocable revenue of £. 8,000 per annum, on certain conditions, to which the crown agreed, and of which the following are the principal:

1ſt. THAT the quit-rents ariſing within the iſland

iſland (then eſtimated at £. 1,460 per annum) ſhould conſtitute a part of ſuch revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws ſhould receive the royal aſſent. And, 3dly. That "all ſuch laws "and ſtatutes of England, as had been at any "time eſteemed, introduced, uſed, accepted, or "received, as laws in the iſland, ſhould be and "continue laws of Jamaica for ever." The revenue act, with this important declaration therein, was accordingly paſſed; and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a conteſt no leſs diſgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the iſland.

I HAVE thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the ſubject would admit, to trace the political conſtitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity; but although its parentage and principles are Britiſh, it has been modified and occaſionally regulated by many unforeſeen events, and local circumſtances. In its preſent form, and actual exerciſe, however, it ſo nearly reſembles the ſyſtem of government in the other Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands, that one general deſcription (which I reſerve for a ſubſequent part of my work) will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of local occurrences and internal politicks, would not, I preſume, be intereſting to the general reader. The following are the only circumſtances which appear to me to merit diſtinct notice, and I have

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reserved the recital for this place, that the thread of the preceding narrative might continue unbroken.

In the year 1687 Christopher Duke of Albemarle was appointed chief governor of Jamaica. This nobleman was the only surviving son and heir of General Monk, who had restored Charles II. and I mention him principally as exhibiting a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. The father had been gratified with the highest rewards that a sovereign could bestow on a subject; a dukedom, the garter, and a princely fortune; and the son, reduced to beggary by vice and extravagance, was driven to the necessity of imploring bread from James II. The king, to be freed from his importunities, gave him the government of Jamaica; where, dying childless, a short time after his arrival, his honours were extinguished with his life. The noble duke lived long enough, however, to collect a considerable sum of money for his creditors; for entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps, who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish Plate ship, which had been stranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north-east of Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with skilful divers, to search for the hidden treasure, and are said to have actually recovered twenty-six tons of silver. The conduct of this noble governor, on his arri-

val,

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val, affords many curious inftances of the arbitrary principles of the times :—Having called an affembly, his grace diffolved them abruptly, becaufe one of the members, in a debate, repeated the old adage, *falus populi fuprema lex.* His grace afterwards took the member into cuftody, and caufed him to be fined £.600 for this offence. With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romifh paftor, fent out by James II. to convert the ifland to popery; but his grace's death, and the revolution in 1688, blafted the good father's project. The duchefs accompanied her hufband; a circumftance which the fpeaker of the Affembly, in his firft addrefs, expatiated upon in a high ftrain of eloquence. "It is an honour (faid he) which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never arrive at, *and even Columbus's ghoft would be appeafed for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know that his own beloved foil was hallowed by fuch footfteps!**

On

* Having mentioned this lady, the reader, I am perfuaded, will pardon me for adding the following particulars of her hiftory. On the death of the duke, her firft hufband, his grace's coadjutors in the diving bufinefs (many of whom had been bucaniers) complained that they had not received their full fhare of the prize-money, and her grace, who had got poffeffion of the treafure, refufing to part with a fhilling, they formed a fcheme to feize her perfon in the king's houfe in Spanifh Town, and carry her off. Luckily fhe received

On the ſeventh of June 1692, happened that tremendous earthquake which ſwallowed up great part of Port Royal. A deſcription of it, dreadfully minute, may be found in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; but it is not generally known that the town was chiefly built on a bank of ſand, adhering to a rock in the ſea, and that a very ſlight concuſſion, aided by the weight of the buildings,

ceived ſome intimation of the plot a day or two before it was to have been carried into execution, and communicated her apprehenſions to the Houſe of Aſſembly, who thereupon appointed a formidable committee of their ableſt bodied members to guard her perſon by day and night, until ſhe was ſafely embarked in one of the king's ſhips. She arrived in England, in the Aſſiſtance man of war, with all her treaſure, the beginning of June 1688, and ſome years afterwards fell into a ſtate of mental imbecility, in the progreſs of which ſhe pleaſed herſelf with the notion, that the Emperor of China having heard of her immenſe riches was coming to pay his addreſſes to her. She even made magnificent preparations for his reception. As ſhe was perfectly gentle and good-humoured in her lunacy, her attendants not only encouraged her in her folly, but contrived alſo to turn it to good account, by perſuading a needy peer (the firſt duke of Montague) to perſonate his Chineſe majeſty, and deceive her into wedlock, which he actually did; and with greater ſucceſs than honeſty, or, I ſhould imagine, even the law would warrant, got poſſeſſion by this means of her wealth, and then confined her as a lunatick. Cibber, the comedian, who thought it a good jeſt, introduced the circumſtance on the ſtage, and it forms a ſcene in his play, called the *Sick Lady Cured*. Her grace ſurvived her huſband, the pretended emperor, for many years, and died in 1734, at the great age of 98. Her frenzy remained however to the laſt, and ſhe was ſerved on the knee as Empreſs of China to the day of her death.

would probably have accomplished its destruction. I am inclined therefore to suspect that the description of the shock is much exaggerated*. CHAP. III.

THE inhabitants were scarcely recovered from the terrors occasioned by the earthquake, when they were alarmed with an account of an intended invasion by an armament from Hispaniola, commanded by Monf. Du Casse, the governor of that island, in person. Accordingly, on the 17th of June 1694, a fleet of three men of war and twenty privateers (having on board 1,500 land forces) appeared off Cow Bay, where eight hundred of the soldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed their instructions to the full extent. They not only set fire to every settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes. Such at least is the account transmitted by Sir William Beeston, the governor, to the secretary of state. Unfortunately, the militia of this part of the country had been drawn off to guard the capital; whereby the French continued their ravages without resistance, and having set fire to all the plantations within their reach,

* The seventh of June is declared, by an act of the Assembly, to be established as a perpetual anniversary fast, in commemoration of this calamity.

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and ſeized about one thouſand negroes, Du Caſſe ſailed to leeward, and anchored in Carliſle Bay, in the pariſh of Vere. This place had no other fortification than an ill-contrived breaſt-work, manned by a detachment of two hundred men from the militia of St. Elizabeth and Clarendon, which Du Caſſe attacked with all his force. The Engliſh made a gallant reſiſtance; but Colonel Cleyborn, Lieutenant Colonel Smart, Captain Vaſſal, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and many others dangerouſly wounded, they were compelled to retreat. Happily, at this moment, arrived five companies of militia, which the governor had ſent to their aſſiſtance from Spaniſh Town. Theſe, though they had marched thirty miles without refreſhment, immediately charged the enemy with ſuch vigour, as entirely to change the fortune of the day. The French retreated to their ſhips, and Du Caſſe ſoon afterwards return- to Hiſpaniola with his ill-gotten booty.

In 1712, on the 28th day of Auguſt, and again on the ſame day of the ſame month, in the year 1722, Jamaica was ſhaken to its foundations by a dreadful hurricane. This day, therefore, as well as the ſeventh of June, the Colonial Legiſlature has, by an act of Aſſembly, piouſly ſet apart for faſting and humiliation, and I wiſh I could add, that its commemoration annually, is as exemplary among all ranks of people as the occaſion was ſignal.

The

The next important occurrence in the hiſtory of this iſland, was the pacification, concluded in 1738, with the hoſtile negroes called *Maroons*; but the reſpite which this treaty afforded the inhabitants from inteſtine commotion was of ſhort duration. In 1760, the very exiſtence of the colony was endangered by a revolt of the enſlaved negroes. As, however, ſome particulars of this affair will be given in a ſubſequent part of my work, when I come to treat generally of negro ſlavery, and of the condition and character of the newly imported Africans, it is unneceſſary for me, in this place, to enlarge upon the ſubject.

The co-operation of the people whom I have juſt mentioned, the Maroons, in ſuppreſſing the revolt of 1760, was conſidered, at the time, in a very favourable point of view; and the ſafety of the country was attributed in ſome degree to their ſervices on that occaſion; but the writer of this was convinced by his own obſervations on the ſpot, that no opinion could be more ill-founded: he was perſuaded that the Maroons were ſuſpicious allies, and that, whenever they ſhould come to feel their own ſtrength, they would prove very formidable enemies. Recent events have unhappily confirmed the judgment he then formed of them. Soon after the publication of this work, theſe people began a moſt unprovoked war againſt the white inhabitants, which has

BOOK II. has ended in their total defeat, and the final expulſion of moſt of them from the iſland. The circumſtances attending this revolt requiring particular diſcuſſion, I have accordingly given it full conſideration, in a diſtinct narrative of its origin, progreſs, and termination, and reſerved it for the concluding part of theſe volumes: to that therefore the reader is referred.

The year 1744 was diſtinguiſhed by another deſtructive conflict of the elements; and in 1780, after a long reſpite, began that dreadful ſucceſſion of hurricanes, which, with the exception of 1782 and 1783, deſolated this, and ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, for ſeven years together*.

Of the whole ſeries of theſe awful viſitations, the firſt was undoubtedly the moſt deſtructive; but in Jamaica, the ſphere of its activity was chiefly confined to the weſtern parts of the iſland. The large and opulent diſtricts of Weſtmoreland and Hanover preſented, however, ſuch extent and variety of deſolation from its effects, as are ſcarcely to be equalled in the records of human calamity. Weſtmoreland alone ſuſtained damage to the amount of £. 700,000 ſterling, and Han-

* 1780 hurricane 3d October.
1781 - - - 1ſt Auguſt.
1784 - - - 30th July.
1785 - - - 27th Auguſt.
1786 - - - 20th October.

over

over nearly as much. The ſad fate of Savanna la Mar (a ſmall ſea-port in the former pariſh) can never be remembered without horror. The ſea, burſting its ancient limits, overwhelmed that unhappy town, and ſwept it to inſtant deſtruction, leaving not a veſtige of man, beaſt, or habitation behind; ſo ſudden and comprehenſive was the ſtroke, that I think the cataſtrophe of Savanna la Mar was even more terrible, in many reſpects, than that of Port Royal. The latter, however, was in its effects more laſting; for to this hour the ruins of that devoted town, though buried for upwards of a century beneath the waves, are viſible in clear weather from the boats which ſail over them, preſenting an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence! CHAP. III.

> Dread end of human ſtrength, and human ſkill,
> Riches, and triumph, and domain, and pomp,
> And eaſe and luxury!
>
> DYER.

WHAT has thus frequently happened, will probably happen again; and the inſolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a leſſon of humility from the contemplation*.

* Mr. Long, in the third volume of his Hiſtory of Jamaica, has enumerated the following prognoſticks, as the uſual precurſors of a hurricane:—" Extraordinary continuance of extreme dry and hot weather. On the near approach of the ſtorm, a turbulent appearance of the ſky: the ſun becomes unuſually

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unuſually red, while the air is perfectly calm. The higheſt mountains are free of clouds, and are ſeen very diſtinctly. The ſky towards the north looks black and foul. The ſea rolls on the coaſt and into the harbours with a great ſwell, and emits, at the ſame time, a very ſtrong and diſagreeable odour. On the full moon, a haze is ſeen round her orb, and ſometimes a halo round the ſun." To this enumeration, I will add a remarkable circumſtance which happened in Jamaica in 1780. Upwards of twenty hours before the commencement of the great ſtorm in that year, a very uncommon noiſe, reſembling the roar of diſtant thunder, was heard to iſſue from the bottom of all the wells in the neighbourhood of Kingſton. There was, at that time, in Port Royal harbour, a fleet of merchant ſhips, which were to ſail the next morning. The commander of one of theſe veſſels, was a witneſs to the circumſtance I have mentioned; and having been informed that it was one of the prognoſticks of an approaching hurricane (though none had happened in Jamaica for near forty years) he haſtened on board his ſhip, warped her that evening into the inner harbour into ſhoal water, and ſecured her with all the precautions he thought neceſſary. At day-break the hurricane began, and this ſhip was one of the very few that eſcaped deſtruction from its fury.

## CHAP. IV.

*Situation and climate.—Face of the Country.—Mountains, and advantages derived from them.—Soil.—Lands in Culture.—Lands uncultivated, and obſervations thereon.—Woods and Timbers.—Rivers and Medicinal Springs.—Ores.—Vegetable Claſſes.—Grain.—Graſſes.—Kitchen-garden produce, and Fruits for the Table, &c. &c.*

JAMAICA is ſituated in the Atlantick Ocean, in about 18° 12′, north latitude, and in longitude about 77° 45′ weſt from London. From theſe data the geographical reader will perceive that the climate, although tempered and greatly mitigated by various cauſes, ſome of which will be preſently explained, is extremely hot, with little variation from January to December; that the days and nights are nearly of equal duration; there being little more than two hours difference between the longeſt day and the ſhorteſt; that there is very little twilight; and finally, that when it is twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about ſeven in the morning in Jamaica. CHAP. IV.

THE general appearance of the country differs greatly from moſt parts of Europe; yet the north and ſouth ſides of the iſland, which are ſeparated by

BOOK II. by a vaſt chain of mountains extending from eaſt to weſt, differ at the ſame time widely from each other. When Columbus firſt diſcovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern ſide; and beholding that part of the country which now conſtitutes the pariſh of St. Anne, he was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the proſpect. The whole of the ſcenery is indeed ſuperlatively fine, nor can words alone (at leaſt any that I can ſelect) convey a juſt idea of it. A few leading particulars I may perhaps be able to point out, but their combinations and features are infinitely various, and to be enjoyed muſt be ſeen.

The country at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore riſes into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldneſs; being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly ſeparated from each other by ſpacious vales and romantick inequalities; but they are ſeldom craggy, nor is the tranſition from the hills to the vallies oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with ſingular felicity. The moſt ſtriking circumſtances however attending theſe beautiful ſwells are the happy diſpoſition of the groves of pimento, with which moſt of them are ſpontaneouſly clothed, and the conſummate verdure of the turf underneath, which is diſcoverable in a thouſand openings; preſenting a charming contraſt

to the deeper tints of the pimento. As this tree, which is no lefs remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, fuffers no rival plant to flourifh within its fhade, thefe groves are not only clear of underwood, but even the grafs beneath is feldom luxuriant. The foil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a clofe and clean turf, as fmooth and even as the fineft Englifh lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful furface the pimento fpreads itfelf in various compartments. In one place, we behold extenfive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, fome of which crown the hills, while others are fcattered down the declivities. To enliven the fcene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copioufly watered the whole diftrict. No part of the Weft Indies, that I have feen, abounds with fo many delicious ftreams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cafcade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no lefs than eight tranfparent waterfalls are beheld in the fame moment. Thofe only who have been long at fea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirfty voyager at fo enchanting a profpect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rifes towards the center of the ifland, the eye, paffing over the beauties that I have recounted,

BOOK II. ed, is attracted by a boundlefs amphitheatre of wood,

> Infuperable height of loftieft fhade,
> Cedar; and branching palm:
>
> MILTON.

An immenfity of foreft; the outline of which melts into the diftant blue hills, and thefe again are loft in the clouds.

On the fouthern fide of the ifland, the fcenery, as I have before obferved, is of a different nature. In the landfcape I have defcribed, the prevailing characterifticks are variety and beauty: in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and fublimity. When I firft approached this fide of the ifland by fea, and beheld, from afar, fuch of the ftupendous and foaring ridges of the blue mountains, as the clouds here and there difclofed, the imagination (forming an indiftinct but awful idea of what was concealed, by what was thus partially difplayed) was filled with admiration and wonder. Yet the fenfation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the profpect before me was in the higheft degree magnificent, it feemed a fcene of magnificent defolation. The abrupt precipice and inacceffible cliff, had more the afpect of a chaos than a creation; or rather feemed to exhibit the effects of

fome

ſome dreadful convulſion, which had laid nature in ruins. Appearances however improved as we approached; for, amidſt ten thouſand bold features, too hard to be ſoftened by culture, many a ſpot was ſoon diſcovered where the hand of induſtry had awakened life and fertility. With theſe pleaſing intermixtures, the flowing line of the lower range of mountains (which now began to be viſible, crowned with woods of majeſtick growth) combined to ſoften and relieve the rude ſolemnity of the loftier eminences; until at length the ſavannas at the bottom met the ſight. Theſe are vaſt plains, clothed chiefly with extenſive cane-fields; diſplaying, in all the pride of cultivation, the verdure of ſpring blended with the exuberance of autumn, and they are bounded only by the ocean; on whoſe boſom a new and ever-moving picture ſtrikes the eye; for innumerable veſſels are diſcovered in various directions, ſome crowding into, and others bearing away from, the bays and harbours with which the coaſt is every where indented. Such a proſpect of human ingenuity and induſtry, employed in exchanging the ſuperfluities of the Old World, for the productions of the New, opens another, and, I might add, an almoſt untrodden field, for contemplation and reflection.

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Thus the mountains of the Weſt Indies, if not, in themſelves, objects of perfect beauty, contribute greatly towards the beauty of general nature;

BOOK II. ture; and ſurely the inhabitants cannot reflect but with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude to Divine Providence, on the variety of climate, ſo conducive to health, ſerenity and pleaſure, which theſe elevated regions afford them. On this ſubject I ſpeak from actual experience. In a maritime ſituation, on the ſultry plains of the ſouth ſide, near the town of Kingſton, where I chiefly reſided during the ſpace of fourteen years, the general medium of heat during the hotteſt months (from June to November, both incluſive) was eighty degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer *(a)*. At a villa eight miles diſtant, in the highlands of Liguanea, the thermometer ſeldom roſe, in the hotteſt part of the day, above ſeventy. Here then was a difference of ten degrees in eight miles; and in the morning and evening the difference was much greater. At Cold Spring, the ſeat of Mr. Wallen, a very high ſituation ſix miles further in the country, poſſeſſed by a gentleman who has taſte to reliſh its beauties and improve its productions, the general ſtate of the thermometer is from 55 to 65°. It has been obſerved ſo low as 44°; ſo that a fire

*(a)* In the other months, viz. from December to May, the thermometer ranges from 70 to 80°. The night air in the months of December and January is ſometimes ſurpriſingly cool: I have known the thermometer ſo low at ſun-riſe as 69°, even in the town of Kingſton; but in the hotteſt months, the difference between the temperature of noon-day and midnight is not more than 5 or 6°.

there,

there, even at noon-day, is not only comfortable but neceſſary, a great part of the year *(b)*. It may be ſuppoſed, that the ſudden tranſition from the hot atmoſphere of the plains, to the chill air of the higher regions, is commonly productive of miſchievous effects on the human frame; but this, I believe, is ſeldom the caſe, if the traveller, as prudence

CHAP. IV.

*(b)* Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the ſea. The ſoil is a black mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flouriſh in ſo cold a climate. Neither the neſberry, the avocado pear, the ſtar apple, nor the orange, will bear within a conſiderable height of Mr. Wallen's garden; but many of the Engliſh fruits, as the apple, the peach, and the ſtrawberry, flouriſh there in great perfection, with ſeveral other valuable exoticks; among which I obſerved a great number of very fine plants of the *tea-tree* and other oriental productions. The ground in its native ſtate is almoſt entirely covered with different ſorts of the *fern*, of which Mr. Wallen has reckoned about 400 diſtinct ſpecies. A perſon viſiting Cold Spring for the firſt time, almoſt conceives himſelf tranſported to a diſtant part of the world; the air and face of the country ſo widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all ſtrangers to him. Among others, peculiar to theſe lofty regions, is a ſpecies of the ſwallow, the plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake; and there is a very fine ſong-bird called the *fiſh-eye*, of a blackiſh brown, with a white ring round the neck. I viſited this place in December 1788, the thermometer ſtood at 57° at ſun-riſe, and never exceeded 64° in the hotteſt part of the day. I thought the climate the moſt delightful that I had ever experienced. On the Blue Mountain peak, which is 7,431 feet from the level of the ſea, the thermometer was found to range from 47° at ſun-riſe to 58° at noon, even in the month of Auguſt. See Med. Comment. Eding. 1780.

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dence dictates, sets off at the dawn of the morning (when the pores of the skin are in some measure shut) and is clothed somewhat warmer than usual. With these precautions, excursions into the uplands are always found safe, salubrious, and delightful. I will observe too, in the words of an agreeable writer *(c)*, that "on the tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours pressing upon the body, the mind acts with greater freedom, and all the functions, both of soul and body, are performed in a superior manner." I wish I could add, with the same author, that "the mind at the same time leaves all low and vulgar sentiments behind it, and in approaching the ethereal regions, shakes off its earthly affections, and acquires something of celestial purity *(d)*!"

To

The following has been given, as an account of the heights from the sea of the most noted mountains in the world:

| | Feet. |
|---|---|
| Mount Blanc - - - | 15,672 |
| Etna - - - - | 10,954 |
| Pike of Teneriffe - - | 11,022 |
| Chimborazo (Andes) - - | 20,575 |
| Snowdon (Wales) - - | 3,557 |

*(c)* Brydone.

*(d)* In describing the rural features of Jamaica, the district called *Pedro Plains*, deserves particular notice. It is a level country on a high bluff called *Pedro Point*, situated on the south-

To theſe inequalities of its ſurface, however, it is owing that although the ſoil, in many parts of this iſland, is deep and very fertile, yet the quantity CHAP. IV.

ſouth-weſt coaſt, in the pariſh of St. Elizabeth. I am indebted to a friend for the following intereſting account of this part of the iſland, which deſerves to be better known and better peopled that it ſeems to be at preſent.

"Pedro Plains differ from every other Savanna of the iſland, and from any part that I have ſeen of Cuba. From the diſtrict of Fullerſwood, in St. Elizabeth's pariſh, it runs eaſtward along the coaſt on an eaſy aſcent to the higheſt ridge, which is called Tophill; from whence it ſtretches inland more than 20 miles in length, and about five in width. It is not altogether unlike the downs in ſome parts of England, and is moſt beautifully dotted with clumps of wood, amongſt which the aloe, torch thiſtle, and other plants of that genus, flouriſh in great luxuriance, from half an acre, to many acres in extent; the boundaries being as neatly defined as if kept ſo by art. The ſoil in colour is the deepeſt red, baked hard on the ſurface by the action of the ſun, but of ſo porous a nature as to abſorb the heavieſt rains as faſt as they fall. The herbage is in general coarſe; neverthelefs it maintains many thouſands both of neat cattle and horſes, and in no part of the world, I believe, is the latter found nearer to a ſtate of wild nature than here. As the whole of this diſtrict is unfurniſhed with ſprings, or even ponds of any duration, the ſtock are compelled to go for water to the wells which are ſunk in the lower parts of the country, at which time the hunters have opportunities of catching them; and contrivances are made for that purpoſe. This the maſter-horſe ſeems to be well apprized of; for he leads into the incloſure with admirable caution, and as ſoon as his own thirſt is allayed, he is very impatient to get his family out, which he always drives before him He admits of no interlopers, nor allows any of his family

BOOK II.

tity of rich productive land is but ſmall, in proportion to the whole. The generality of what has been cultivated is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make it yield liberally. In fine, with every prejudice in its favour, if we

mily to ſtray. The breed is remarkably hardy, but ſomewhat reſtive from their wild nature. The air of this country (particularly at Tophill, which approaches to mountainous) is wonderfully ſalubrious.—As one proof of this, there was living ſo late as 1780 a negro man, named John Comelaſt, who had reſided on this ſpot as ſhepherd for upwards of 30 years. He had formerly been the coachman of a Mr. Woodſtock, who had given him permiſſion in his old age to go where he pleaſed. At the time I ſaw him his woolly hair had become perfectly white, and his body was ſhrivelled beyond any thing I had ever beheld; but at the ſame time his muſcles were full and firm, and he could run down any ſheep in the Savanna; for he had no dog to aſſiſt him. We took him as our guide down to the ſea: he ran before us, keeping our horſes on a hand-gallop, to the beach, and he maintained the ſame pace on our return (though up-hill) a diſtance of about 10 miles. Of one family of the name of Ebanks, who lived on theſe plains, there were threeſcore perſons living, all deſcended from one man, who was himſelf living in 1780. The air of this diſtrict, though not cold, is wonderfully dry and elaſtick, and ſo temperate withal, that even a European ſportſman may follow his game the whole day without feeling any oppreſſion from the heat; and he will meet with good ſport in purſuing the galena or wild Guinea-fowl, which is found here in great numbers.—The mutton raiſed here is equal to the fineſt down mutton in England, and the fruits and vegetables of all kinds are exellent.—The water-melon in particular ranks with the firſt of fruits. Its coolneſs, criſpneſs and flavour are rivalled only by the beauty of the rind, which

we compare Jamaica with many other iſlands of nearly the ſame extent (with Sicily, for inſtance, to which it was compared by Columbus) it muſt be pronounced an unfruitful and laborious country, as the following detail will demonſtrate.

JAMAICA is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and, on a medium of three meaſurements at different places, about forty miles in breadth. Theſe data, ſuppoſing the iſland to have been a level country, would give - 3,840,000 Acres.

BUT a great part conſiſting of high mountains, the ſuperficies of which compriſe far more land. than the baſe alone, it has been thought a moderate eſtimate to allow on that account $\frac{1}{16}$ more, which is - - - 240,000

The Total is - - 4,080,000 Acres.

OF theſe, it is found by a return of the clerk of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589, were,

which is mottled in ſhades of green, and bears a gloſs like the poliſh of marble. On the whole, for beauty of proſpect,—for purity and dryneſs of air,—and a climate exempt from either extreme of heat and cold, Pedro Plains may vie with any ſpot on the habitable globe.

BOOK II. in November 1789, located, or taken up, by grants from the crown, and as no grants have been iſſued ſince that time, it appears that upwards of one half the country is conſidered as of no kind of value. The lands in cultivation may be diſtributed nearly as follows:

In ſugar plantations (including the land reſerved in woods, for the purpoſe of ſupplying timber and fire-wood; or appropriated for common paſturage, all which is commonly two-thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be ſtated at 690,000; it appearing that the preciſe number of thoſe eſtates, in December 1791, was 767, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, muſt be deemed ſufficiently liberal.

Of breeding and grazing farms (or, as they are commonly called in the iſland, *pens)* the number is about 1,000; to each of which I would allow 700 acres, which gives 700,000, and no perſon who has carefully inſpected the country, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, coffee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the proviſion plantations, more than half the quantity I have aſſigned to the pens. The reſult of the whole is 1,740,000 acres, leaving upwards of two millions an unimproved, unproductive wilderneſs, of which not more than one-fourth

part

part is, I imagine, fit for any kind of profitable cultivation; great part of the interior country being both impracticable and inacceſſible. CHAP. IV.

But, notwithſtanding that ſo great a part of this iſland is wholly unimprovable, yet (ſuch is the powerful influence of great heat and continual moiſture) the mountains are in general covered with extenſive woods, containing excellent timbers, ſome of which are of prodigious growth and ſolidity; ſuch as the lignum vitæ, dog-wood, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees; moſt of which are ſo compact and heavy as to ſink in water. Some of theſe are neceſſary in mill-work, and would be highly valuable in the Windward Iſlands. They are even ſo, in ſuch parts of Jamaica as, having been long cultivated, are nearly cleared of contiguous woods; but it frequently happens, in the interior parts, that the new ſettler finds the abundance of them an incumbrance inſtead of a benefit, and having provided himſelf with a ſufficiency for immediate uſe, he ſets fire to the reſt, in order to clear his lands; it not anſwering the expence of conveying them to the ſea-coaſt for the purpoſe of ſending them to a diſtant market. Of ſofter kinds, for boards and ſhingles, the ſpecies are innumerable; and there are many beautiful varieties adapted for cabinet-work, among others the

 bread

BOOK II. bread-nut, the wild-lemon, and the well-known mahogany*.

As the country is thus abundantly wooded, so, on the whole, we may assert it to be well watered. There are reckoned throughout its extent above one hundred rivers, which take their rise in the mountains, and run, commonly with great rapidity, to the sea, on both sides of the island. None of them are deep enough to be navigated by marine vessels. Black River in St. Elizabeth's parish, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepest and gentlest, and admits flat-bottomed boats and canoes for about thirty miles.

* Mr. Beckford (formerly of Westmoreland in Jamaica) whose elegant taste for the beautiful, leads him to select the *picturesque*, rather than the *useful*, in woodland scenery, thus describes the rural features of this richly furnished island: "The variety and brilliancy of the verdure are particularly "striking, and the trees and shrubs that adorn the face of the "country, are singular for the richness of their tints, and the "depth of their shadows. The palm, the coco-nut, the "mountain-cabbage, and the plantain, when associated with "the tamarind, the orange, and other trees of beautiful growth "and vivid dyes, and these commixed with the waving plumes "of the Bamboo cane, the singular appearance of the Jerusalem "thorn, the bushy richness of the Oleander and African rose, "the glowing red of the scarlet cordium, the verdant bowers "of the jessamine and grenadilla vines, all together compose "an embroidery of colours which few regions can rival, and "which, perhaps, none can surpass." Descriptive Account of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 32.

OF

Of the ſprings, which very generally abound, even in the higheſt mountains, ſome are medicinal; and are ſaid to be highly efficacious in diſorders peculiar to the climate. The moſt remarkable of theſe, is found in the eaſtern pariſh of St. Thomas, and the fame of it has created a village in its neighbourhood, which is called the Bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain, about a mile diſtant, and is too hot to admit a hand being held underneath: a thermometer on Fahrenheit's ſcale, being immerſed in a glaſs of this water, the quickſilver immediately roſe to 123°. It is ſulphureous, and has been uſed with great advantage in that dreadful diſeaſe of the climate called the dry-belly-ach. There are other ſprings, both ſulphureous and chalybeate, in different parts of the country; of which, however, the properties are but little known to the inhabitants in general.

In many parts of Jamaica there is a great appearance of metals; and it is aſſerted by Blome, and other early writers, that the Spaniſh inhabitants had mines both of ſilver and copper: I believe the fact. But the induſtry of the preſent poſſeſſors is perhaps more profitably exerted on the ſurface of the earth, than by digging into its bowels. A lead mine was indeed opened ſome years ago, near to the Hope eſtate, in the pariſh of St. Andrew, and it is ſaid, there was no want

of

of ore, but the high price of labour, or other caufes with which I am unacquainted, compelled the proprietors to relinquifh their project.

Of the moft important of the prefent natural productions, as fugar, indigo, coffee and cotton, I fhall have occafion to treat at large, when the courfe of my work fhall bring me to the fubject of agriculture. It only remains therefore, at prefent, to fubjoin a few obfervations on the vegetable claffes of inferior order: I mean thofe which, though not of equal commercial importance with the preceding ones, are equally neceffary to the comfort and fubfiftence of the inhabitants. If the reader is inclined to botanical refearches, he is referred to the voluminous collections of Sloane and Browne.

The feveral fpecies of grain cultivated in this ifland are, 1ft. Maize, or Indian corn, which commonly produces two crops in the year, and fometimes three: it may be planted at any time when there is rain, and it yields according to the foil from fifteen to forty bufhels the acre. 2dly. Guiney-corn, which produces but one crop in the year: it is planted in the month of September, and gathered in January following, yielding from thirty to fixty bufhels an acre. 3dly. Various kinds of calavances, a fpecies of pea; and, laftly, rice, but in no great quantity; the fituation pro-

per

per for its growth being deemed unhealthy, and the labour of negroes is commonly employed in the cultivation of articles that yield greater profit.

THIS iſland abounds likewiſe with different kinds of graſs, both native and extraneous, of excellent quality; of the firſt is made exceeding good hay, but not in great abundance; this method of huſbandry being practiſed only in a few parts of the country; and it is the leſs neceſſary as the inhabitants are happily accommodated with two different kinds of artificial graſs, both extremely valuable, and yielding great profuſion of food for cattle. The firſt is an aquatick plant called *Scot's graſs*, which though generally ſuppoſed to be an exotick, I have reaſon to think grows ſpontaneouſly in moſt of the ſwamps and moraſſes of the Weſt-Indies. It riſes to five or ſix feet in height, with long ſucculent joints, and is of very quick vegetation. From a ſingle acre of this plant, five horſes may be maintained a whole year, allowing fifty-ſix pounds of graſs a-day to each.

THE other kind, called Guiney-graſs, may be conſidered as next to the ſugar-cane, in point of importance; as moſt of the grazing and breeding farms, or pens, throughout the iſland, were originally created, and are ſtill ſupported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence the plenty of horned cattle, both for the butcher and planter, is ſuch that few markets in Europe

 furniſh

BOOK II.

furniſh beef at a cheaper rate, or of better quality, than thoſe of Jamaica *(e)*. Perhaps the ſettlement of moſt of the north-ſide pariſhes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent graſs, which happened by accident about fifty years ago; the ſeeds having been brought from the coaſt of Guiney, as food for ſome birds which were preſented to Mr. Ellis, chief-juſtice of the iſland. Fortunately the birds did not live to conſume the whole ſtock, and the remainder, being careleſsly thrown into a fence, grew and flouriſhed. It was not long before the eagerneſs diſplayed by the cattle to reach the graſs, attracted Mr. Ellis's notice, and induced him to collect and propagate the ſeeds; which now thrive in ſome of the moſt rocky parts of the iſland; beſtowing verdure and fertility on lands which otherwiſe would not be worth cultivation.

The ſeveral kinds of kitchen-garden produce, as edible roots and pulſe, which are known in Europe, thrive alſo in the mountains of this iſland;

*(e)* Mutton is alſo both cheap and good. The ſheep of Jamaica, according to Sloane, are from a breed originally African. They have ſhort hair inſtead of wool, and in general are party-coloured, chiefly black and white. They are ſmall, but very ſweet meat. The ſwine of the Weſt Indies are alſo conſiderably ſmaller than thoſe of Europe, and have ſhort pointed ears. Their fleſh is infinitely whiter and ſweeter than the pork of Great Britain, and that of the wild ſort, of which there are great numbers in the woods, ſtill better.

and the markets of Kingſton and Spaniſh-Town are ſupplied with cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parſnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green-peas, aſparagus, and various ſorts of European herbs, in the utmoſt abundance. Some of them (as the three firſt) are I think of ſuperior flavour to the ſame kinds produced in England. To my own taſte however, ſeveral of the native growths, eſpecially the chocho, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale, are more agreeable than any of the eſculent vegetables of Europe. The other indigenous productions of this claſs are plantains, bananas, yams of ſeveral varieties, calalue (a ſpecies of ſpinnage) eddoes, caſſavi, and ſweet potatoes. A mixture of theſe, ſtewed with ſalted fiſh or ſalted meat of any kind, and highly ſeaſoned with Cayenne-pepper, is a favourite olio among the negroes. For bread, an unripe roaſted plantain is an excellent ſubſtitute, and univerſally preferred to it by the negroes, and moſt of the native whites. It may in truth be called the ſtaff of life to the former; many thouſand acres being cultivated in different parts of the country for their daily ſupport *(f)*.



Of the more elegant fruits, the variety is equalled

*(f)* It is ſaid by Oviedo that this fruit, though introduced into Hiſpaniola at a very early period, was not originally a native of the Weſt Indies, but was carried thither from the Canary

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led only by their excellence. Perhaps no country on earth affords ſo magnificent a deſſert; and I conceive that the following were ſpontaneouſly beſtowed on the iſland by the bounty of nature;—the annana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, ſweet-ſop of two ſpecies, caſhew-apple, cuſtard-apple (a ſpecies of chirimoya (g); coco-nut, ſtar-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum and its varieties, pindal-nut, neſbury, mammee, mammee-ſapota, Spaniſh-gooſberry, prickly-pear, and perhaps a few others. For the orange, civil and china, the lemon, lime, ſhaddock, and its numerous ſpecies, the vine, melon, fig and pomegranate, the Weſt Indian iſlands were probably indebted to their Spaniſh invaders. Excepting the peach, the ſtrawberry, and a few of the growths of European orchards (which however attain to no great perfection, unleſs in the higheſt mountains)

Canary iſlands by Thomas de Berlanga, a friar, in the year 1516. The banana is a ſpecies of the ſame fruit. Sir Hans Sloane, whoſe induſtry is commendable whatever may be thought of his judgment, has, in his Hiſtory of Jamaica, collected much information concerning this production; and from ſome authorities which he cites, it would ſeem that Oviedo was miſinformed, and that every ſpecies of the plantain is found growing ſpontaneouſly in all the tropical parts of the earth.

(g) This fruit is the boaſt of South America, and is reckoned by Ulloa one of the fineſt in the world. I have been informed that ſeveral plants of it are flouriſhing in Mr. Eaſt's princely garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains.

the

the roſe-apple, genip, and ſome others of no great value, I do not believe that Engliſh induſtry had added much to the catalogue, until within the laſt twenty years. About the year 1773, a botanick garden was eſtabliſhed under the ſanction of the Aſſembly, but it was not until the year 1782 that it could juſtly boaſt of many valuable exoticks. At that period, the fortune of war having thrown into the poſſeſſion of Lord Rodney, a French ſhip bound from the iſland of Bourbon to Cape François in St. Domingo, which was found to have on board ſome plants of the genuine cinnamon, the mango and other oriental productions, his lordſhip, from that generous partiality which he always manifeſted for Jamaica and its inhabitants, preſented the plants to his favourite iſland;—thus nobly ornamenting and enriching the country his valour had protected from conqueſt. Happily, the preſent was not ill beſtowed. The cinnamon may now be ſaid to be naturalized to the country: ſeveral perſons are eſtabliſhing plantations of it, and one gentleman has ſet out fifty thouſand plants. The mango is become almoſt as common as the orange; but, for want of attention, runs into a thouſand ſeminal varieties. Some of them, to my taſte, are perfectly delicious *(h)*. CHAP. IV.

I SHALL

*(h)* The cinnamon tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet; it puts out numerous ſide-branches with a denſe foliage

BOOK II.

I SHALL conclude this chapter, with an authentick catalogue of the foreign plants in the publick botanical garden of this iſland; lamenting, at the ſame time, that I am not able to gratify the reader with a more copious and extenſive diſplay, from the magnificent collection of my late friend Hinton Eaſt, Eſquire, who had promiſed to favour me with an *Hortus Eaſtenſis*, to be prepared, under his own immediate inſpection, purpoſely for this work; – but much greater room have I to lament the cauſe of my diſappointment, and mourn over the ſeverity of that fate which ſuddenly ſnatched a moſt amiable and excellent

foliage from the very bottom of the trunk, which furniſhes an opportunity of obtaining plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its ſeeds in any quantity under ſix or ſeven years, when it becomes ſo plentifully loaded, that a ſingle tree is almoſt ſufficient for a colony. When planted from layers, it is of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the height of fifteen or twenty feet, it is very ſpreading, and furniſhed with numerous branches of a fit ſize for decortation. The ſeeds are long in coming up. The ſmall branches of about an inch diameter yield the beſt cinnamon, which is itſelf the *limber* or inner bark of the tree, and it requires ſome dexterity to ſeparate the outer barks, which would vitiate the flavour. Specimens of the inner bark, tranſmitted by Dr. Dancer, the iſland botaniſt, to the Society of Arts, were found fully to poſſeſs the *aroma* and taſte of the true cinnamon from Ceylon, and indeed to be ſuperior to any cinnamon imported from Holland; and in all other reſpects to agree perfectly with the deſcription of the oriental cinnamon given by Burman. See their reſolutions of the 14th December 1790.

citizen from his friends and the publick, and hurried him to an untimely grave.—Such is the vanity of hope, and the uncertainty of life! (i) CHAP. IV.

(i) A very accurate and comprehensive catalogue of Mr. East's superb collection having since been obtained, it will be found in the third volume;—and the catalogue above mentioned, which was inserted in the first edition, is now therefore omitted.

## CHAP. V.

*Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vestries.—Governor or Commander in chief.—Courts of judicature.—Publick offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix N° I. N° II.*

BOOK II.

THE Island of Jamaica is divided into three counties, which are named Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* or *Spanish Town*, the capital of the island. Most of the villages of this and the other counties, are hamlets of no great account, situated at the different harbours and shipping-places, and supported by the traffick carried on there. *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* is situated on the banks of the river *Cobre*, about six miles

miles from the ſea, and contains between five and ſix hundred houſes, and about five thouſand inhabitants, including free people of colour. It is the reſidence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a ſuperb palace; and it is here, that the legiſlature is convened, and the Court of Chancery, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, are held.

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THE county of Surry contains ſeven pariſhes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are thoſe of Kingſton and Port-Royal; the former of which is ſituated on the north-ſide of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated deſolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port-Royal. It contained in 1788 one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five houſes, beſides negro-huts and warehouſes. The number of white inhabitants, in the ſame year, was ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty-nine: of free people of colour three thouſand two hundred and eighty: of ſlaves ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine;—total number of inhabitants, of all complexions and conditions, twenty-ſix thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-eight. It is a place of great trade and opulence. Many of the houſes in the upper part of the town are extremely magnificent; and the markets for butchers' meat, turtle, fiſh, poultry, fruits and vegetables, &c. are inferior to none. I can add too, from the infor-

BOOK II.

mation of a learned and ingenious friend, who kept comparative regifters of mortality, that fince the furrounding country is become cleared of wood, this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe *(a)*.

Port-Royal, once a place of the greateft wealth and importance in the Weft Indies, is now reduced, by repeated calamities, to three ftreets, a few lanes, and about two hundred houfes. It contains, however, the royal navy yard, for heaving down and refitting the king's fhips; the navy hofpital, and barracks for a regiment of foldiers. The fortifications are kept in excellent order, and vie in ftrength, as I am told, with any fortrefs in the king's dominions.

*(a)* The number of the white inhabitants in Kingfton, had increafed in 1791 to about 7,000. In that year the burials were 151 white men (including 45 from the publick hofpital) 23 white women, and 20 white children. Total 194. Of the men, the whole number from the hofpital, and a great many of the others, were tranfient perfons, chiefly difcarded or vagabond feamen; but without making any allowance for extraordinary mortality on that account, if this return, which is taken from the Parochial Regifter, be compared with the bills of mortality in the manufacturing towns of England, the refult will be confiderably in favour of Jamaica. In the large and opulent town of Manchefter, for inftance, the whole number of inhabitants in 1773, comprehending Salford, was 29,151, and the average number of burials (diffenters included) for five preceding years was 958. If the mortality in Manchefter had been in no greater proportion than in Kingfton, the deaths would not have exceeded 813.

CORNWALL

Cornwall contains five pariſhes, three towns, and ſix villages.—The towns are Savanna-la-Mar on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and Montego Bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was deſtroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the ſea in 1780, as I have elſewhere related. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from ſixty to ſeventy houſes.

Montego-Bay is a flouriſhing and opulent town: conſiſting of two hundred and twenty-five houſes, thirty-three of which are capital ſtores or warehouſes. The number of top-ſail veſſels which clear annually at this port are about one hundred and fifty, of which ſeventy are capital ſhips; but in this account are included part of thoſe which enter at Kingſton.

Falmouth, or (as it is more commonly called) *the Point*, is ſituated on the ſouth-ſide of Martha-Brae harbour, and, including the adjoining villages of Martha-Brae and the Rock, is compoſed of two hundred and twenty houſes. The rapid increaſe of this town and neighbourhood within the laſt ſixteen years is aſtoniſhing. In 1771, the three villages of Martha-Brae, Falmouth, and the Rock, contained together but eighteen houſes; and the veſſels which entered annually at the port of Falmouth did not exceed ten. At preſent it can boaſt of upwards of thirty capital ſtationed

BOOK II. ſhips, which load for Great Britain, excluſive of ſloops and ſmaller craft.

Each pariſh (or precinct conſiſting of an union of two or more pariſhes) is governed by a chief magiſtrate, ſtyled *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and a body of juſtices unlimited by law as to number, by whom ſeſſions of the peace are held every three months, and courts of Common Pleas to try actions ariſing within the pariſh or precinct, to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty ſhillings, a ſingle juſtice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty pariſhes contain eighteen churches and chapels*, and each pariſh is provided with a rector, and other church officers; the rectors livings, the preſentation to which reſts with the governor or commander in chief, are ſeverally as follows, viz. St. Catherine £. 300 per annum; Kingſton, St. Thomas in the Eaſt, Clarendon, and Weſtmoreland, £. 250 per annum; St. David, St. George, and Portland, £. 100 per annum, all the reſt £. 200 per annum. Theſe ſums are paid in lieu of tythes by the churchwardens of the ſeveral pariſhes reſpectively, from the amount of taxes levied by the veſtries on the inhabitants.

Each pariſh builds and repairs a parſonage houſe, or allows the rector £. 50 per annum in lieu

* Two or three more have been erected ſince this account was written.

of

of one; besides which, many of the livings have glebe lands of very considerable value annexed to them, as the parish of St. Andrew, which altogether is valued at one thousand pounds sterling per annum *(b)*. The bishop of London is said to claim this island as part of his diocese, but his jurisdiction is renounced and barred by the laws of the country; and the governor or commander in chief, as supreme head of the provincial church, not only inducts into the several rectories, on the requisite testimonials being produced that the candidate has been admitted into priest's orders according to the canons of the church of England, but he is likewise vested with the power of suspending a clergyman of lewd and disorderly life *ab officio*, upon application from his parishioners. A suspension *ab officio* is in fact a suspension *a beneficio*, no minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate; unless prevented by sickness.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the freeholders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appoint way-wardens, and

*(b)* In the year 1788, the assembly passed a law to prohibit the burial of the dead within the walls of the churches; and as by this regulation several of the rectors were deprived of a perquisite, an augmentation of £. 50 per annum was made to most of the livings.

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BOOK II.

allot labourers for the repair of the publick highways. They likewiſe nominate conſtables, for the collection both of the publick and parochial taxes.

THE ſupreme court of judicature for the whole iſland (commonly called the Grand Court, as poſſeſſing ſimilar juriſdiction in this country to that of the ſeveral courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in Great Britain) is held in the town of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, the capital of the county of Middleſex, on the laſt Tueſday of each of the months of February, May, Auguſt, and November, in every year. In this court, the chief juſtice of the iſland preſides, whoſe ſalary is only £. 120, but the perquiſites ariſing from the office make it worth about £. 3,000 *per annum*. The aſſiſtant judges are gentlemen of the iſland, commonly planters, who receive neither ſalary nor reward of any kind for their attendance. Three judges muſt be preſent to conſtitute a court; and each term is limited in duration to three weeks. From this court, if the matter in diſpute in a civil action be for a ſum of £. 300 ſterling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor and council, as a court of error; if ſentence of death be paſſed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone *(c)*.

ASSIZE

*(c)* By an early law of this iſland (paſſed in 1681) freeholders of known reſidence are not ſubject to arreſt, and being held to bail in civil proceſs. The mode of proceeding is, to

Assize courts alſo are held every three months, in Kingſton for the county of Surry, and in Savanna-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. The Surry court begins the laſt Tueſday in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court begins the laſt Tueſday in March, June, September, and December; each aſſize court is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inhabitants law-courts every month of the year, beſides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the ſeveral pariſh courts *(d)*. The judges of the

to deliver the party a ſummons (leaving it at his houſe is deemed good ſervice) together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the court, whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, the very next court, or judgment will paſs by default. Twenty-eight days after the firſt day of each court execution iſſues; for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a *fieri facias* and a *capias ad ſatisfaciendum;* but as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, it is enacted that the effects levied on, ſhall remain in the defendant's hands until the next court, to give him an opportunity of diſpoſing of them to the beſt advantage; and if he then fails paying over the money, a *venditioni exponas* iſſues to the marſhal, to ſell thoſe, or any other goods, and take his perſon. The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution, whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of one term, or court, after which both his perſon and goods are liable under the writ of *venditioni exponas.*

*(d)* Soon after this was written an act was paſſed (I think in 1790) by which the Auguſt term in the ſupreme court was aboliſhed, and a long vacation eſtabliſhed as in England, with ſimilar

BOOK II. the affize courts act without falary or reward, as well as the affiftant judges of the fupreme court, any one of whom, if prefent, prefides in the affize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the affize immediately following the fupreme court, are confidered as of one and the fame court, and have an equal right, in point of priority, with thofe obtained in the grand court.

In this ifland, as in Barbadoes, the departments of council and attorney are diftinct; and although in the ifland laft-mentioned, barrifters have been admitted by licence from the governor, it is otherwife in Jamaica; the colonial laws exprefsly requiring, that no perfon fhall be allowed to practice who has not been regularly admitted in the courts of England, Ireland, or Scotland; or elfe (in the cafe of an attorney) who has not ferved as articled clerk to fome fworn attorney or folicitor in the ifland for five years at leaft.

The governor, or commander in chief, is chancellor by his office, and prefides folely in that high department, which is adminiftered with great form and folemnity. He is alfo the fole ordinary for the probate of wills and granting letters of adminiftration. From the firft of thefe offices, he de-

fimilar regulations for the affize courts, to the great relief of perfons attending as jurors.

rives

rives extenſive authority, and from the latter conſiderable emolument *(e)*. CHAP. V.

As

*(e)* The profits and emoluments ariſing annually from the government of Jamaica may, I think, be ſtated nearly as follows, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary — — — — | £.5,000 |
| Fees in Chancery — — — | 150 |
| Fees of the Court of Ordinary — — | 1,400 |
| Share of Cuſtom Houſe Seizures — | 1,000 |
| The aſſembly have purchaſed for the governor's uſe, a farm of about 300 acres, called the Government Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewiſe a polink or proviſion ſettlement in the mountains (which is alſo provided with a comfortable manſion-houſe) and ſtocked both properties with 50 negroes, and a ſufficiency of cattle, ſheep, &c. From theſe places (which are excluſive of the king's houſe in Spaniſh Town) the governor is, or ought to be, ſupplied with hay and corn, mutton, milk, poultry, and proviſions for his domeſticks, creating a ſaving in his houſhold expences of at leaſt — — — — | 1,000 |
| Total in currency — — | £.8,550 |

Being equal to £. 6,100 ſterling; and this is altogether excluſive of fees received by his private ſecretary for militia commiſſions, &c. &c. &c. *which are not eaſily aſcertained.* It is ſuppoſed alſo that money has ſometimes been made by the ſale of church livings; and vaſt ſums were formerly raiſed by eſcheats.

*N. B.* A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for £. 3,000 ſterling per annum.—Since the former editions of this work were publiſhed, the aſſembly, at the requeſt of the governor, have paſſed an act for the ſale of both the Government

BOOK II.

As appendages of the ſupreme court, the ſeveral great offices, viz. the office of enrollments, or ſecretary of the iſland, provoſt-marſhal-general, clerk of the court (or prothonotary, cuſtos-brevium, &c.) are held and ſituated in Spaniſh Town. The firſt is an office of record, in which the laws paſſed by the legiſlature are preſerved; and copies of them entered into fair volumes. In this office all deeds, wills, ſales, and patents, muſt be regiſtered. It is likewiſe required that all perſons (after ſix weeks reſidence) intending to depart this iſland, do affix their names in this office, twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket or let-paſs, to enable them to leave the country. In order to enforce this regulation, maſters of veſſels are obliged, at the time of entry, to give ſecurity in the ſum of £. 1,000 not to carry off the iſland any perſon without ſuch ticket or let-paſs. Truſtees, attornies and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of eſtates in their charge; and, by a late act, mortgagees in poſſeſſion are obliged to regiſter not only accounts of the crops of each year, but alſo annual accounts current of their receipts and payments. Tranſcripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified,

ment Penn and Mountain Polink, and in lieu thereof have ſettled an additional ſalary of £. 2,000 currency on the Commander in Chief for the time being.

are evidences in any court of law, and all deeds muſt be enrolled within three months after date, or they are declared to be void as againſt any other deed proved and regiſtered within the time limited; but if no ſecond deed is on record, then the ſame are valid, though regiſtered after the three months. It is preſumed that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and exerciſed by deputation, exceed £. 6,000 ſterling *per annum*.

The provoſt-marſhal-general is an officer of high rank and great authority.—The name denotes a military origin, and the office was firſt inſtituted in this iſland in 1660, by royal commiſſion to Sir Thomas Lynch. It is now held by patent from the crown, which is uſually granted for two lives, and the patentee is permitted to act by deputy, who is commonly the higheſt bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various: and the acting officer is high-ſheriff of the whole iſland during his continuance in office, and permitted to nominate deputies under him for every pariſh or precinct. His legal receipts have been known to exceed £. 7,000 ſterling *per annum*, and it is ſuppoſed that ſome of his deputies make nearly as much.

The office of clerk of the ſupreme court is likewiſe held by patent and exerciſed by deputation. Evidence was given to the houſe of aſſembly ſome years ago, that its annual value at that time exceeded

BOOK II. ceeded £. 9,000 currency. Of late I believe it is conſiderably diminiſhed.

Of the other great lucrative offices, the principal are thoſe of the regiſter in chancery, receiver-general and treaſurer of the iſland, naval officer, and collector of the cuſtoms for the port of Kingſton. All theſe appointments, whether held by patent or commiſſion, are likewiſe ſuppoſed to afford conſiderable emolument to perſons reſiding in Great Britain. It is computed on the whole, that not leſs than £, 30,000 ſterling is remitted annually, by the deputies in office within the iſland, to their principals in the mother-country *(f)*.

*(f)* It is not very pleaſant to the reſident inhabitants to obſerve, that almoſt all the patent offices in the colonies are exerciſed by deputies, who notoriouſly and avowedly obtain their appointments by purchaſe. Leaſes for years of ſome of them have been ſold by auction; and nothing is more common, at the expiration of thoſe leaſes, than the circumſtance of an inferior clerk outbidding his employer (the reſident deputy) and ſtepping into his place. It may be doubted whether both the ſeller and buyer in ſuch caſes are not ſubject to the penalties of the ſtatute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. againſt the ſale and purchaſe of offices relating to the adminiſtration of Juſtice. By an excellent law, however, which paſſed in the adminiſtration of the preſent Marquis of Lanſdown then Earl of Shelburne, the grievance will in a great degree be prevented in future, for it is enacted by the 22d Geo. III. c. 75. that from thenceforth no office to be exerciſed in the plantations ſhall be granted by patent, for any longer term than during ſuch time as the grantee thereof *ſhall diſcharge the duty in perſon.*

THE

CHAP. V.

The legiſlature of Jamaica is compoſed of the captain-general or commander in chief, of a council nominated by the crown, conſiſting of twelve gentlemen, and a houſe of aſſembly containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the ſeveral towns and pariſhes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingſton, and Port Royal, and two for each of the other pariſhes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the pariſh where the election is made; and in the repreſentative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the iſland, or a perſonal eſtate of three thouſand pounds. In the proceedings of the general aſſembly, they copy, as nearly as local circumſtances will admit, the forms of the legiſlature of Great Britain; and all their bills (thoſe of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as ſoon as the governor's aſſent is obtained. The power of rejection however is ſtill reſerved in the crown; but until the royal diſapprobation is ſignified, the laws are valid.

Of the laws thus paſſed, the principal relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable, as the ſlave ſyſtem for inſtance *(g)*. In this and other caſes,

*(g)* Thus the evidence of a ſlave is not admiſſible againſt a white perſon. Again, although by a very early law of this iſland, ſlaves are conſidered as inheritance, and are according-

 ly

BOOK II.

cafes, the Englifh laws being filent, the colonial legiflature has made, and continues to make, fuch provifion therein, as the exigencies of the colony are fuppofed to require; and on fome occafions, where the principle of the Englifh law has been adopted, it has been found neceffary to alter and modify its provifions, fo as to adapt them to circumftances and fituation. Thus, in the mode of fetting out emblements, the practice of fine and recovery, the cafe of infolvent debtors, the repair of the publick roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great deviations from the practice of the mother-country have been found indifpenfably requifite *(h)*.

THE

ly fubject to the incidents of real property (for as they go to the heir, fo may the widow have dower of them, and the furviving hufband be tenant by courtefy; and this holds equally whether flaves are poffeffed in grofs, or belong to a plantation) yet in refpect of debts, flaves are confidered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels.

*(h)* An outline of the law of infolvency may not be unacceptable to the reader.—A debtor, after three months continuance in actual confinement, may obtain his liberty under the following conditions; three weeks previous to the next fitting of the fupreme court, he is to give notice by publick advertifement, that he means to take the benefit of the act, and to that end, has lodged all his books of account in the hands of the marfhal or keeper of the gaol, for infpection by his creditors. He fhall then, on the firft day of term, be brought by petition before the court, where he is to fubfcribe and deliver in a fchedule of his whole eftate and effects, and fubmit, if any one of his creditors require it, to an examination, *viva voce*, upon oath,

THE revenues of this iſland may be divided into two branches; the one *perpetual*, by an act of the year 1728, called the revenue law, of the origin of which I have already ſpoken, and of which revenues the quit-rents conſtitute a part; the other *annual*, by grants of the legiſlature. The revenue CHAP. V.

oath, in open court. To this ſchedule he muſt annex an affidavit, certifying that it contains a juſt account of all his property, debts, and effects, except clothing, bedding, and working tools, not worth more than 10l.; that he has given no preference to any particular creditor, for three months previous to his confinement, nor conveyed away nor concealed any part of his eſtate or effects. The court thereupon, being ſatisfied with the priſoner's examination, ſhall appoint one or more of the creditors to be aſſignees for the benefit of the whole; and order them poſſeſſion of the property and effects, and diſcharge the party from confinement. Gaol fees of thoſe who are unable to pay them, are paid by the publick. There are various regulations for the prevention of fraud, and it is declared, that if any perſons claiming the benefit of the act, ſhall knowingly forſwear themſelves, and be convicted of perjury in conſequence thereof, they ſhall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and ſuffer death accordingly. It is alſo provided, that no debtor ſhall have the benefit of the act more than once, and that the future eſtate and effects of perſons diſcharged under it (but not their perſons or apparel) ſhall ſtill be liable to make up the former deficiency. By a ſubſequent law, however, which the Author of this work had the honour to propoſe, as a member of the aſſembly, a debtor may be diſcharged a ſecond time on the ſame conditions, provided he had fully paid his former creditors before his ſecond inſolvency; and even if he has not paid the debts on which he before took the benefit of the act, he ſhall be diſcharged, *after an actual confinement of two years*; the court being ſatisfied that he has fairly ſurrendered all his eſtate and effects to the uſe of his creditors.

BOOK II.

law may raiſe about £. 12,000 *per annum*, of which £. 8,000 is particularly appropriated, as I have elſewhere obſerved, and the ſurplus is applicable to the contingent expences of government, in aid of the annual funds. The governor receives £. 2,500 *per annum* out of the £. 8,000 fund. A further ſalary of £. 2,500 is ſettled upon him during his reſidence in the iſland by a ſpecial act of legiſlature, paſſed the beginning of his adminiſtration, and is made payable out of ſome one of the annual funds provided by the aſſembly. Theſe at this time may amount to £. 70,000, of which about £. 40,000 is a proviſion for granting an additional pay to the officers and ſoldiers of his majeſty's forces ſtationed for the protection of the iſland. Every commiſſioned officer being entitled to 20 *s.* per week, and every private to 5 *s.*: An allowance is alſo made to the wives and children of the ſoldiers; which, with the Britiſh pay, enables them to live much more comfortably than the king's troops generally do in Europe.

THE uſual ways and means adopted for raiſing the above taxes are, firſt, a duty of 20 *s.* per head on all negroes imported; ſecondly, a duty on all rum and other ſpirits retailed and conſumed within the iſland; thirdly, the deficiency law: an act which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of ſlaves to keep one white perſon for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is ſometimes

fometimes £. 13, at other times £. 26 *per annum*, for each white perfon deficient of the number required, is become fo productive a fource of revenue, that the bill is now confidered as one of the annual fupply bills: fourthly, a poll-tax on all flaves, and ftock, and a rate on rents and wheel-carriages. Befides thefe, occafional tax-bills are paffed by the legiflature, as neceffity may require. I have fubjoined in a note the eftimate of the contingent charges of the government of this ifland on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof *(i)*. CHAP. V.

THE

*(i) Eftimate of the ordinary* CONTINGENT CHARGES *of the Government of JAMAICA on the annual funds for the year* 1788; *viz.*

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Governor's additional falary - - | 2,500 | — | — |
| Subfiftence of the Troops, and Hofpital expences - - - | 41,300 | — | — |
| Salaries to Officers of the Affembly, Printing, &c. - - - | 2,300 | — | — |
| Clerk of the Grand Court - - | 100 | — | — |
| Clerk of the Crown - - | 100 | — | — |
| Clerk to the Commiffioners of Forts - | 150 | — | — |
| Surveyor to the Bath - - | 200 | — | — |
| Port Officers and Waiters - - | 1,600 | — | — |
| Maroon Negro Parties - - | 1,000 | — | — |
| Superintendants refiding in the Maroon-Towns - - - | 1,300 | — | — |
| To the Engineer and Captain of different Forts - - - | 1,000 | — | — |
| For the fupport of the Botanick Garden | 280 | — | — |
| Salary to the Agent - - | 420 | — | — |
| Carried over - | £. 52,250 | — | — |

 To

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The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold, called the half-johannes, valued in England at 36*s.* each;

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brought over - | 52,250 | — | — |
| To the Officers of the Troops for private Lodgings - - - | 1,430 | — | — |
| Supplying the Forts with Water - | 1,089 | — | — |
| To the Commissioners of the Forts - | 5,600 | — | — |
| To the Kingston Hospital - - | 500 | — | — |
| Sundry Demands on the Publick for Official Fees, Medical Care and Gaol Fees of Prisoners, Repairs of the Publick Buildings, &c. &c. - - | 4,359 | 7 | 9 |
| Charges of collecting; viz. Collecting Constable's and Receiver General's Commissions, Reliefs, &c. 15 per cent. | 9,783 | 6 | — |
| | £. 75,011 | 13 | 9 |

WAYS *and* MEANS.

| | £. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outstanding Debts - | 25,000 | — | — | |
| Negro Duty, computed at | 6,000 | — | — | |
| Rum Duty - - | 14,000 | — | — | |
| Double Deficiency on Negroes - - | 24,000 | — | — | |
| Poll-Tax - - | 67,000 | — | — | |
| | £. 136,000 | — | — | |
| Deduct for prompt Payment 10 per cent - | 13,600 | — | — | |
| | | | | 122,400 — — |

The overplus was applied towards discharging the Publick Debt, which was estimated at £. 180,000 currency; but since then, the contingent charges of government, have risen annually to double the amount above stated, owing chiefly to a great augmentation of the British troops; the whole expence of

4

each; theſe paſs here, if of full weight, at 55*s*. Spaniſh gold coins current here, are, doubloons at £. 5. 5 *s*. each, and piſtoles at 26 *s*. 3 *d*. Silver coins are Spaniſh milled dollars at 6 *s*. 8 *d*. and ſo in proportion for the ſmaller parts of this coin; the loweſt coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about 5 *d*. ſterling. A guinea paſſes for 32 *s*. 6 *d*. This, however, is conſiderably more than the uſual rate of exchange, by which £. 100 ſterling gives £. 140 currency.

FROM the ſituation of this iſland amidſt potent and envious rivals, and the vaſt diſproportion between the number of white inhabitants and the ſlaves, it may be ſuppoſed that the maintenance of a powerful and well-diſciplined militia is among

of raiſing and maintaining all which (above the number of 3,000) is thrown upon the iſland. Among theſe is a regiment of light-dragoons, which is mounted on horſes bred in the country.

*N. B.* The ſituation of Jamaica, in reſpect to the expences of its internal government and finances, has been ſtrangely altered ſince the firſt publication of the preceding eſtimates. Its publick debt and contingent expences for 1796, came to no leſs than £. 298,333. 1 *s*. 3 *d*. currency; and this ſum was altogether excluſive of the expences incurred by the war with the Maroon Negroes, of which an account will hereafter be given, amounting to no leſs than £. 520,198. 14 *s*. 7 *d*. currency. The committee of the Aſſembly by whom theſe eſtimates were reported, declare, at the ſame time, that they find it impracticable to deviſe the means of anſwering a debt of ſuch magnitude, and an application was made (but I believe without ſucceſs) to the Britiſh government for a loan of £. 200,000 ſterling.

BOOK II.

the firſt objects of the policy of the legiſlature: accordingly all perſons, from fifteen to ſixty years of age, are obliged by law to enliſt themſelves either in the horſe or foot, and to provide at their own expence the neceſſary accoutrements; but this law, I doubt, is not very rigidly enforced, as the whole militia, which is compoſed of three regiments of horſe and fourteen regiments of foot, does not conſiſt of much more than 8,000 effective troops; neither do the uſual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military ſubordination*.— However, in times of actual danger, whether from the revolt of ſlaves, or the probability of invaſion, no troops in the world could have ſhewn greater promptitude or alacrity in ſervice, than has been diſplayed by the militia of Jamaica. In ſuch emergencies, the commander in chief, with the advice and conſent of a general council of war (in which the members of the aſſembly have voices) may

* The following is a return of the cavalry and infantry on the 13th January 1792:

| | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| County of Surry - | 336 | 2,141 | 2,477 |
| Middleſex | 375 | 2,647 | 3,022 |
| Cornwall | 368 | 2,305 | 2,673 |
| Effectives - | | | - 8,172 |

Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1,889. The Maroons were not comprehended.

proclaim

proclaim martial law. His power is then dictatorial; and all persons are subject to the articles of war. CHAP. V.

From the given number of men able to bear arms in any country, it is usual with political writers to estimate the inhabitants at large; but their rule of calculation does not apply to Jamaica, where the bulk of the people consists of men without families. Europeans who come to this island have seldom an idea of settling here for life. Their aim is generally to acquire fortunes to enable them to sit down comfortably in their native country; and, in the meanwhile, they consider a family as an incumbrance. Marriage, therefore, being held in but little estimation, the white women and children do not bear the same proportion to the males, as in European climates. From these, and other causes, I have found it difficult to ascertain with precision the number of the white inhabitants. I have been informed, that a late intelligent chief governor (General Campbell) computed them, after diligent research, at 25,000; and I am induced to believe, from more than one mode of calculation, that General Campbell's estimate was near the truth.—This computation was made in 1780, since which time I am of opinion, from the many loyal Americans who have fixed themselves in Jamaica, and other causes, this number is considerably increased. Including the troops

BOOK II. troops and sea-faring people, the white population may, I think, be fixed at 30,000.

THE freed negroes and people of colour are computed, in a report of a committee of the house of assembly of the 12th of November 1788, at 500 in each parish, on an average of the whole; which makes 10,000, exclusive of the black people called Maroons, who enjoy freedom by treaty *(l)*.

OF negroes in a state of slavery in this island, the precise number in December, 1787, as ascertained on oath in the rolls from which the poll-tax is levied, was 210,894; and as it may answer more useful purposes hereafter than the mere gratification of curiosity, I shall distinguish the numbers in each parish, which are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| St. Dorothy — — | 3,129 |
| St. Catherine — — | 5,304 |
| St. John — — | 5,880 |
| St. Thomas in the Vale — | 7,459 |
| Vere — — | 7,487 |
| St. Mary — — | 17,144 |
| St. Ann — — | 13,324 |
| Kingston — — | 6,162 |
| St. Andrew — — | 9,613 |
| St. David — — | 2,881 |
| Carried over — | 78,383 |

*(l)* See the historical account of the Maroons in the third volume.

St. Thomas

CHAP. V.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brought over | — | 78,383 |
| St. Thomas in the Eaſt | — | 20,492 |
| Portland — | — | 4,537 |
| St. George — | — | 5,050 |
| St. Elizabeth — | — | 13,280 |
| Hanover — | — | 17,612 |
| St. James — | — | 18,546 |
| Trelawney — | — | 19,318 |
| Port-Royal — | — | 2,229 |
| Weſtmoreland — | — | 16,700 |
| Clarendon — | — | 14,747 |
| Total | — | 210,894 |

It appears, however, from the report of the committee of the aſſembly above cited, that in moſt of the pariſhes it is cuſtomary to exempt perſons not having more than ſix negroes, from the payment of taxes on ſlaves, whereby many of the negroes, eſpecially in the towns *(m)*, are not given in to the different veſtries, and the returns of a great many others are fraudulently concealed; thus the tax-rolls do not contain the full number

*(m)* In Kingſton, for inſtance, the real number is 16,659, inſtead of 6,162, the number of the tax-rolls. On an average of the whole number of pariſhes, the negroes not given in or returned may be reckoned at one-ſeventh part of the whole.

BOOK II. number of ſlaves, which in the opinion of the committee, were at that time 240,000, at the leaſt; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from ſubſequent importations, excluſive of decreaſe. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, at this time (1791) may be ſtated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Whites - - - - - | 30,000 |
| Freed negroes, and people of colour - - - - | 10,000 |
| Maroons, about - - - | 1,400 |
| Negro ſlaves - - - | 250,000 (n) |
| Total - | 291,400 |

The trade of this iſland will beſt appear by the quantity of ſhipping and the number of ſeamen to which it gives employment, and the nature and quantity of its exports. The following is an account, from the books of the Inſpector General of Great Britain, of the number of veſſels of all kinds, their regiſtered tonnage and number of men, which cleared from the ſeveral ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, excluſive of coaſting ſloops, wherries, &c. viz.

(n) Theſe are increaſed at this time (1797) to at leaſt 300,000.

For

CHAP. V.

| | Number of Veſſels. | Tonnage. | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For Great Britain - | 242 | 63,471 | 7,748 |
| Ireland - - - | 10 | 1,231 | 91 |
| American States | 133 | 13,041 | 893 |
| Britiſh American Colonies - - | 66 | 6,133 | 449 |
| Foreign Weſt Indies - - - | 22 | 1,903 | 155 |
| Africa - - - | 1 | 109 | 8 |
| Total - | 474 | 85,888 | 9,344 |

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that as many of the veſſels clearing for America and the foreign Weſt Indies make two or more voyages in the year, it is uſual, in computing the real number of thoſe veſſels, their tonnage and men, to deduct one-third from the official numbers. With this correction the total to all parts is 400 veſſels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

The exports for the ſame year are given on the ſame authority, as follows:

Inſpector-

Inſpector-General's Account of the Jamaica Exports, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market.

| To what Parts. | Sugar. | Rum. | Melaſſes. | Piemento. | Coffee. | Cotton Wool. | Indigo. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Cwt. qrs. lbs.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *lbs.* | *Cwt. qrs. lbs.* | *lbs.* | *lbs.* |
| To Great Britain – | 824,706 2 25 | 1,890,540 | 2,316 | 606,994 | 3,706 3 27 | 1,899,967 | 27,223 |
| Ireland – – | 6,829 – — | 106,700 | — | 2,800 | 10 – — | 5,500 | 400 |
| American States | 6,167 – — | 327,325 | 1,800 | 6,450 | 2,566 – 2 | — | — |
| Br. Amer. Colonies – – | 2,822 – — | 207,660 | 2,300 | 200 | 110 3 8 | 1,000 | — |
| Foreign West Indies – – | 24 – — | 2,200 | — | — | 2 – — | — | — |
| Africa – – | — | 8,600 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Totals — | 840,548 2 25 | 2,543,025 | 6,416 | 616,444 | 6,395 3 9 | 1,906,467 | 27,623 |

*(continued)*.

| To what PARTS. | Ginger. Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Cacao. Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Tobacco. lbs. | Mahogany. Tons. Cwt. | Log-wood. Tons. | Miscellaneous Articles. Value. £. s. d. | Total Value. £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Great Britain – | 3,553 2 15 | 82 3 15 | 18,140 | 5,783 4 | 6,701 | 147,286 3 4 | 2,022,814 7 10 |
| Ireland – – | 918 – – | — | — | 95 – | — | — | 25,778 10 — |
| American States | 339 – — | — | — | — | — | — | 60,095 18 — |
| Br. Amer. Colonies – – | 4 – — | — | — | — | — | — | 26,538 2 5 |
| Foreign W. Indies – – | 2 – — | — | — | — | — | — | 355 19 — |
| Africa – – | — | — | — | — | — | — | 860 — — |
| Totals — | 4,816 2 15 | 82 3 15 | 18,140 | 5,878 4 | 6,701 | — | 2,136,442 17 3 |

BUT

BOOK II.

But it muſt be noted, that a conſiderable part of the cotton, indigo, tobacco, mahogany, dye-woods, and miſcellaneous articles, included in the preceding account, is the produce of the foreign Weſt Indies imported into Jamaica, partly under the free-port law, and partly in ſmall Britiſh veſſels employed in a contraband traffick with the Spaniſh American territories, payment of which is made chiefly in Britiſh manufactures and negroes; and conſiderable quantities of bullion, obtained by the ſame means, are annually remitted to Great Britain, of which no preciſe accounts can be procured *.

The General Account of Imports into Jamaica will ſtand nearly as follows; viz.

* The preceding account having been made up for 1787, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that the iſland has greatly increaſed its produce in the ſpace of 10 years; and, it is true, that at this period (1797) the amount of its exports, accord- to their marketable value, would greatly exceed that of 1787, perhaps nearly one third; but it is conceived, that the difference ariſes more from an advance of price in the ſeveral articles, than from any exceſs in the quantity produced, coffee excepted. This increaſe of price has been chiefly owing to the deſtruction of moſt of the French iſlands, particularly St. Domingo: the Britiſh planters, on the other hand, have to ſet againſt it the increaſe of their internal taxes, for the ſupport of a war eſtabliſhment (beſides additional inſurance, freight, and other charges) to an amount never before known; thoſe of Jamaica, in particular, have been ſubject to burthens to which this augmentation in the value of their exports was by no means commenſurate. See p. 279, note at foot.

## IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

| | | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From *Great Britain*, direct, according to a return of the Inspector-General for 1787. - - | British manufactures | 686,657 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| | Foreign merchandize | 72,275 | 3 | 1 | 758,932 | 5 | 4 |
| From *Ireland*, I allow a moiety of the whole import from that kingdom to the British West Indies, consisting of manufactures and salted provisions to the amount of £. 277,000 - - - - - - | | | | | 138,500 | — | — |
| From *Africa*, 5,345 negroes *(i)*, at £. 40 sterling each—(This is wholly a British trade carried on in ships from England) - - - - | | | | | 213,800 | — | — |
| From the *British Colonies in America* (including about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from Newfoundland) - | | | | | 30,000 | — | — |
| From the *United States*, Indian corn, wheat, flour, rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships - - | | | | | 190,000 | — | — |
| From *Madeira* and *Teneriffe*, in ships trading circuitously from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (exclusive of wines for re-exportation) at £. 30 sterling the pipe - | | | | | 15,000 | — | — |
| From the *Foreign West Indies*, under the free-port law, &c. calculated on an average of three Years *(k)*. - | | | | | 150,000 | — | — |
| Total - | | | | | £. 1,496,232 | 5 | 4 |

*(i)* Being an average of the whole number imported and retained in the island for ten years, 1778 to 1787, as returned by the Inspector-General. The import of the last three years is much greater.

*(k)* From returns of the Inspector-General. The following are the particulars for the year 1787.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton Wool - - - | | 194,000 | lbs. |
| Cacao - - - - | | 64,750 | lbs. |
| Cattle, viz. | | | |
| Asses - - - - | 43 | | |
| Horses - - - | 233 | | |
| Mules - - - - | 585 | | |
| Oxen - - - | 243 | | |
| Sheep - - - - | 98 | | |
| | | 1,202 | No. |
| Dying Woods - - - | | 5,077 | Tons. |
| Gum Guiacum - - - | | 79 | Barrels. |
| Hides - - - | | 4,537 | No. |
| Indigo - - - | | 4,663 | lbs. |
| Mahogany - - - | | 9,993 | Planks. |
| Tortoise Shell - - - | | 655 | lbs. |
| Dollars - - - | | 53,850 | No. |

Some part of this eſtimate, however, is not ſo perfect as might be wiſhed; inaſmuch as in the accounts made up at the Inſpector-General's office of goods exported from Great Britain, they reckon only the original coſt, whereas the Britiſh merchant being commonly the exporter, the whole of his profits, together with the freight, inſurance, and factorage commiſſions in the iſland, ſhould be taken into the account, becauſe the whole are comprized in one charge againſt the planter. On the Britiſh ſupply, therefore, I calculate that twenty *per cent.* ſhould be added for thoſe items; which make the ſum total £. 1,648,018. 14 *s.* 4 *d.* ſterling-money.

After all, it is very poſſible that ſome errors may have crept into the calculation, and the balance or ſurplus ariſing from the exceſs of the exports, may be more or leſs than appears by the ſtatement which I have given; but this is a conſideration of little importance in a national view, inaſmuch as the final profit ariſing from the whole ſyſtem ultimately reſts and centers in Great Britain;——a concluſion which was well illuſtrated formerly by the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, in a report made by them on the ſtate of the Britiſh ſugar colonies in the year 1734; an extract from which, as it ſerves likewiſe to point out the progreſs of this iſland during the laſt fifty years, I ſhall preſent to the reader.

"The

"THE annual amount (say their Lordships) of our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1732, as it stands computed in the custom-house books, appears to have been - £. 147,675. 2. 3¾.

The medium of our imports *(l)* from Jamaica, in the same year, is - - £. 539,499. 18. 3½.

So that the annual excess of our imports, in that period, is no less than - £. 391,824. 15. 11¾.

"BUT it must not be imagined, that this excess is a debt upon Great Britain to the island of Jamaica; a part of it must be placed to the account of Negroes, and other goods, sent to the Spanish West Indies, the produce of which is returned to England by way of Jamaica; another part to the debt due to our African traders from the people of Jamaica, for the Negroes which are purchased and remain there for the service of the island; a third proportion must be placed to the account of our Northern Colonies on the continent of America, who discharge part of their balance with Great Britain by consignments from Jamaica, arising from the provisions and lumber with which they supply that island; the remain-

*(l)* The Custom House prices of goods imported, are considerably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one-third.

ing part of the excefs in our importations from this colony, is a profit made upon our trade, whether immediately from Great Britain, or by way of Africa; and laftly, it is a confideration of great importance in the general trade of Great Britain, that part of the fugar, and other merchandize which we bring from Jamaica, is re-exported from hence, and helps to make good our balance in trade with other countries in Europe."

HAVING mentioned the trade which is carried on between this ifland and the Spanifh territories in America, fome account of it in its prefent ftate, and of the means which have been adopted by the Britifh parliament to give it fupport, may not be unacceptable to my readers. It is fufficiently known to have been formerly an intercourfe of vaft extent, and highly advantageous to Great Britain, having been fuppofed to give employment, about the beginning of the prefent century, to 4,000 tons of Englifh fhipping, and to create an annual vent of Britifh goods to the amount of one million and a half in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American fubjects, by endeavouring to compel them to truft folely to the mother-country, for almoft every article of neceffary confumption, at the very time that fhe was incapable of fupplying a fiftieth part of their wants, it is not furprifing that they had recourfe, under all hazards, to thofe nations of

Europe

Europe which were able and willing to anſwer their demands. It was in vain, that the veſſels employed in this traffick, by the Engliſh and others, were condemned to confiſcation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and ſlavery; the Spaniſh Americans ſupplied the loſs by veſſels of their own, furniſhed with ſeamen ſo well acquainted with the ſeveral creeks and bays, as enabled them to proſecute the contraband with facility and advantage. Theſe veſſels received every poſſible encouragement in our iſlands; contrary, it muſt be acknowledged, to the ſtrict letter of our acts of navigation; but the Britiſh government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import beſides bullion, but horned cattle, mules, and horſes, (ſo neceſſary to the agriculture of the ſugar colonies) connived at the encouragement that was given them. The trade, however, has been, for many years, on the decline. Since the year 1748, a wiſer and more liberal policy towards its American dominions, ſeems to have actuated the court of Madrid; and the contraband traffick has gradually leſſened, in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulations has been relaxed. Nevertheleſs, the intercourſe with this iſland, in Spaniſh veſſels, was ſtill very conſiderable ſo late as the year 1764. About that period, directions were iſſued by the Engliſh miniſtry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs; and



 cuſtom-

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cuſtom-houſe commiſſions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to ſeize all foreign veſſels, without diſtinction, that ſhould be found in the ports of our Weſt Indian iſlands; a meaſure which in truth was converting our navy into *guarda-coſtas*, for the king of Spain. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, the Spaniards, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone, in the year 1765, fell ſhort of the year 1763, £. 168,000 ſterling.

A WISER miniſtry endeavoured to remedy the miſchief, by giving orders for the admiſſion of Spaniſh veſſels as uſual; but the ſubject matter being canvaſſed in the Britiſh parliament, the nature and intent of thoſe orders were ſo fully explained, that the Spaniſh court, grown wiſe from experience, took the alarm, and immediately adopted a meaſure, equally prompt and prudent, for counteracting them. This was, the laying open the trade to the iſlands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hiſpaniola, and Cuba, to every province in Spain, and permitting goods of all kinds to be ſent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. Thus the temptation of an illicit commerce with foreign nations, being in a great meaſure removed, there was reaſon to believe that the effect would ceaſe with the cauſe.

SUCH, however, is the ſuperiority or compara-

tive cheapneſs of Britiſh manufactures, that it is probable the trade would have revived to a certain degree, if the Britiſh miniſtry of 1765, after giving orders for the admiſſion of Spaniſh veſſels into our ports in the Weſt Indies, had proceeded no further. But, in the following year, they obtained an act of parliament for opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica, to all foreign veſſels of a certain deſcription. The motives which influenced the framers of this law, were undoubtedly laudable; they juſtly conſidered the recovery of the Spaniſh trade as a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, and concluded that the traders would naturally prefer thoſe ports, in which their ſafety was founded on law, to places where their preſervation depended only on the precarious tenure of connivance and favour. Other oſtenſible reaſons were aſſigned in ſupport of the meaſure; but the jealouſy of Spain was awakened, and the endeavours of the Britiſh parliament on this occaſion, ſerved only to encreaſe the evil which was meant to be redreſſed. By an unfortunate over-ſight, the collectors at the ſeveral Britiſh free-ports were inſtructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign veſſels, and of the bullion which they imported, together with the names of the commanders. Theſe accounts having been tranſmitted to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in England, copies of them were, by ſome means, procured by the court of Spain, and

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the abſolute deſtruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in tranſporting bullion into our iſlands, was the conſequence. This intelligence I received ſoon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the cuſtom-houſe in Jamaica) from a very reſpectable Spaniſh merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a recital of the fact, accompanied with many ſhocking circumſtances of unrelenting ſeverity in the Spaniſh government. Information of this being tranſmitted to the Britiſh miniſtry, the former inſtructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late;—for what elſe could be expected, than that the Spaniards would naturally ſhun all intercourſe with a people, whom neither the ſafety of their friends, nor their own evident intereſt, was ſufficient to engage to confidence and ſecrecy?

THE little trade, therefore, which now ſubſiſts with the ſubjects of Spain in America, is chiefly carried on by ſmall veſſels from Jamaica, which contrive to eſcape the vigilance of the *guarda-coſtas*. But although, with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, I am of opinion, that the free-port law has not ſo fully anſwered the expectation of its framers, as might have been wiſhed; its proviſions, in other reſpects, have been very beneficial. It has been urged againſt it, that it gives occaſion to the introduc-

tion

tion of French wines, brandies, ſoap, cambricks, and other prohibited articles from Hiſpaniola; and there is no doubt that ſmall veſſels from thence frequently claim the benefit of the free-ports, after having ſmuggled aſhore, in the various creeks and harbours of this iſland, where no cuſtom-houſes are eſtabliſhed, large quantities of brandy (to the great prejudice of the rum-market) and other contraband goods. It may be urged too, that the permiſſion given by the act to the importation of certain of the products of the foreign iſlands, is hurtful to the growers of the ſame commodities in Jamaica. All this is admitted; but on the other hand, conſidering the revenues and commerce of the empire at large, as objects of ſuperior concern to local intereſts, it cannot be denied, that the woollen and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be ſupplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the eaſieſt and cheapeſt terms poſſible. The quantities of theſe articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into the free-ports, are very conſiderable. This ſubject was thoroughly inveſtigated by the Britiſh Houſe of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired); and it being given in evidence that thirty thouſand people about Mancheſter were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was beſt

BOOK II.

beſt adapted; and that both French cotton and indigo had been imported from Jamaica at leaſt thirty per cent. cheaper than the ſame could have been procured at through France—the Houſe, diſregarding all colonial oppoſition, came to a reſolution, "that the continuance of free-ports in Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom." The act was thereupon renewed, and has ſince been made perpetual.

But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the eſtabliſhment of free-ports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea that thoſe ports would become the great mart for ſupplying foreigners with negroes. It was ſaid, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own iſlands, every encouragement muſt be thrown out to the African merchant, to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was ſo great as that of an opportunity of ſelling part of them to foreigners for ready money; a temptation, it was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means that a number would be imported ſufficient both for the planter's uſe and for the foreign demand; and it was added, that at all events the French would deal with us, if the Spaniards would not.

Whether it be a wiſe and politick meaſure at any time to permit Britiſh ſubjects to ſupply foreigners

foreigners with African labourers, is a queſtion that may admit of diſpute *(m)*. I mean, at preſent, to confine myſelf only to a recital of facts; and it is certain that the very great demand for negroes in the Ceded Iſlands, for ſome years after the act took place, affected the Jamaica import in a high degree; and in 1773, a circumſtance occurred which was thought to render a renewal of the free-port law a meaſure of indiſpenſable neceſſity. In that year the Spaniſh Aſſiento Company at Porto-Rico obtained permiſſion to remove their principal factory to the Havanna, and to purchaſe ſlaves in any of the neighbouring iſlands, tranſporting them to their own ſettlements in Spaniſh veſſels. It was eaſily foreſeen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the chief colonies of Spain, in which negroes were moſt in demand, would engage a preference from the purchaſers; wherefore, that

*(m)* The re-export of negroes from the Britiſh Weſt Indies, for the laſt twenty years, for the ſupply of the French and Spaniſh plantations, has not, I believe, exceeded one-fifth of the import. It was greater formerly, and during the exiſtence of the Aſſiento contract, exceeded *one third*.—Perhaps it would be found on the whole, that Great Britain has, by this means, during the laſt century, ſupplied her rivals and enemies with upwards of 500,000 African labourers; a circumſtance which ſufficiently juſtifies the doubt that I entertain concerning the wiſdom and policy of this branch of the African commerce.

encouragement

BOOK II. encouragement might not be wanting, the Britiſh parliament not only renewed the free-port law, but alſo took off the duty of thirty ſhillings ſterling a head, which, in the former act, was exacted on the exportation of negroes, and laid only a duty of two ſhillings and ſix-pence, in lieu of it. The reſult was—that the import for the next ten years, exceeded that of the ten years preceding, by no leſs than 22,213 negroes: and the export ſurpaſſed that of the former period, to the number of 5,952. Such part, therefore, of this encreaſed export, as went to the ſupply of the Spaniſh colonies, we may attribute to the free-port law; for it is probable, from the circumſtances ſtated, that the ancient contraband ſyſtem is nearly at an end. In like manner it may be ſaid of the importation of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not made in foreign veſſels, it will ceaſe altogether; and thus, inſtead of infringing the navigation-act, as ſome perſons contend, the meaſure of opening the ports is ſtrictly conſonant to the ſpirit of that celebrated law; for, by furniſhing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the encreaſe of our ſhipping.

Having now, to the beſt of my judgment and knowledge, furniſhed my readers with ſuch particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the preſent trade and productions of

of Jamaica, I ſhall conclude with a conciſe diſplay of its progreſs in cultivation at different periods, for a century paſt.

By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, it appears, that the iſland at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. "The weather (obſerves the governor) has been ſeaſonable, and the ſucceſs in planting miraculous. Major-General Banniſter is now not very well, but by the next, *he ſends your lordſhip a pot of ſugar, and writes you its ſtory.*" It would ſeem from hence, that the cultivation of ſugar was then but juſt entered upon, and that Blome, who aſſerts there were ſeventy ſugar-works in 1670, was miſinformed. So late as the year 1722, the iſland made only eleven thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, of ſixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentick account until the year 1734, when the iſland contained 7,644 whites *(n)*, 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this iſland to Great Britain, about this period,

*(n)* The circumſtance of the decreaſe of the white inhabitants for the firſt ſixty years, may appear ſtrange. It was owing, without doubt, to the decline of the privateering trade, which gave full employment to the firſt adventurers.

were

BOOK II. were ſtated (as we have ſeen) by the Commiſſioners of Trade, at £. 539,499. 18. 3½. ſterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of ſugar was 33,155 hogſheads, of 14 cwt.

In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period, were about 35,000 hogſheads of ſugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, excluſive of ſmaller articles. The whole might be worth £. 600,000 ſterling.

In 1768, the whites were ſuppoſed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the tax-rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be leſs at that time than 1,400,000 ſterling) were theſe:

CHAP. V.

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768.

| | Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt. | Pun$^s$ of Rum, of 110 gal$^s$. | Bags of Pimento, of 100 lbs. | Bags of Ginger of 70 lbs. | Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs. | Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs. | Tons of Fuftick and Logwood. | Feet of Mahogany. | Tons of Lig. Vitæ. | Tons of Nic. Wood and Ebony. | Gall$^s$ of Melaffes. | Hides. | Mifcellaneous Articles. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | £. s. d |
| To Great Britain and Ireland – | 54,181 | 11,127 | 13,116 | 2,551 | 2,211 | 1,491 | 4,035 | 443,920 | 120 | 26 | — | — | Value unknown. |
| To North America | 1,580 | 4,424 | 738 | 620 | 252 | 2,712 | — | 424,080 | — | — | 201,960 | 2,287 | |
| Total – | 55,761 | 15,551 | 13,854 | 3,171 | 2,463 | 4,203 | 4,035 | 868,000 | 120 | 26 | 201,960 | 2,287 | |

CULTIVATION,

BOOK II.

CULTIVATION, in all parts of Jamaica, was now making a great and rapid progreſs. In 1774, the exports were conſiderably encreaſed: The following account of them is extracted from the books of office, kept within the iſland.

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1774.

| | Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt. | Pun^s of Rum, of 110 gal^s. | Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs. | Barrels of Indigo, of 300 lbs. | Bags of Ginger, of 70 lbs. | Bags of Pimento, of 100 lbs. | Caſks of ditto, of 300 lbs. | Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs. | Hhds. of Melaſſes, 60 gal^s. | Tons of Logwood, and Fuſtick. | Feet of Mahogany. | Hides. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Great Britain and Ireland | 76,344 | 17,348 | 3,684 | 437 | 2,348 | 13,797 | 276 | 2,022 | 69 | 1,286½ | 117,200 | 656 |
| To North America | 1,960 | 8,726 | 2,863 | 1 | 579 | 552 | 47 | 88 | 951 | 26½ | 12,080 | 8,636 |
| Total | 78,304 | 26,074 | 6,547 | 438 | 2,927 | 14,349 | 323 | 2,110 | 1,020 | 1,313 | 129,280 | 9,292 |

THE

The amount of the ſum total, according to the prices current, including the ſame allowance for miſcellaneous articles, of which no preciſe account can be obtained, as was allowed by the Inſpector-General for the year 1787, may be fairly ſtated at two millions of pounds ſterling.

But Jamaica had now nearly attained the meridian of its proſperity *(n)*; for early in the following year, the fatal and unnatural war which has terminated in the diſmemberment of the empire, began its deſtructive progreſs; in the courſe of which, the blameleſs inhabitants of this and the reſt of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, felt all its effects without having merited the ſlighteſt imputation on their conduct. Their ſources of ſupply for plantation neceſſaries were cut off, and protection at ſea, if not denied, was not given; ſo that their produce was ſeized in its way to Great Britain, and confiſcated without interruption or mercy. To fill up the meaſure of their calamities, the anger of the Almighty was kindled againſt them;—no leſs than five deſtructive hurricanes in the ſpace of ſeven years, as I have elſewhere obſerved, ſpread

*(n)* The greateſt improvement which Jamaica has manifeſted ſince 1774, has been in the encreaſed number of its coffee plantations. In that year, the export of coffee, as we have ſeen, was 654,700 lbs. In 1780, the crop having been ſhipped before the hurricane happened, the export was 735,392 lbs. For the laſt ten years, ſee the Appendix, N° II.

BOOK II. ruin and desolation throughout every island! The last of these terrible visitations in Jamaica, happened in 1786. Since that time, however, the seasons have been favourable; and the crops of 1788, 1789 and 1790, were considerable. May the inhabitants be thankful, that it has thus pleased the Divine Providence to remember mercy in judgment; and may past misfortunes teach them those lessons of fortitude, frugality, and foresight, which always alleviate afflictions, and sometimes even convert them into blessings.

Nothing now remains but to state the value of this island, considered as British property; of which the estimate is formed as follows:—250,000 negroes at fifty pounds sterling each, make twelve millions and a half; the landed and personal property to which these negroes are appurtenant (including the buildings) are very fairly and moderately reckoned at double the value of the slaves themselves; making twenty-five millions in addition to the twelve million five hundred thousand pounds I have stated before; and in further addition, the houses and property in the towns, and the vessels employed in the trade, are valued at one million five hundred thousand pounds; amounting in the whole to thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling.

* * *

IN

CHAP. V.

* * * * *

IN this delightful Iſland, thus variegated by the hand of nature, and improved by the induſtry of man, it was my fortune to paſs the ſpring of my life, under the protection and guidance of men whoſe wiſdom inſtructed, whoſe virtues I hope improved me,—and whoſe tenderneſs towards me expired only with the laſt ſigh that deprived me of them for ever. Towards perſons whoſe memories are thus dear to me,—who were at once a bleſſing and an ornament to the country of which I write,—my readers will I hope allow me to offer in this place a tribute of affectionate and reſpectful remembrance. One of thoſe perſons devoted ſome years to the improvement of my mind in the purſuits of knowledge. From the precepts and inſtructions, and ſtill more from the beautiful compoſitions, of ISAAC TEALE, I imbibed in my youth that reliſh for polite literature, the enjoyment of which is now become the ſolace of my declining years. If the publick has received my writings with favour, it becomes me to declare that, whatever merit they poſſeſs is due to the leſſons inculcated, and the examples ſupplied by my revered and lamented friend. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and having for twenty years diſcharged the paſtoral duties of

BOOK II. a country curacy in an obſcure part of Kent, was reluctantly prevailed on, at the age of forty-five, to exchange his ſtipend of £. 40. per annum, for preferment in Jamaica. Here, his virtues, learning and talents attracted the notice of my diſtinguiſhed relation and bountiful benefactor, ZACHARY BAYLY; by whoſe kindneſs he was enabled to ſpend the remainder of his days in leiſure and independency. In the ſociety of theſe valuable friends, chiefly under the ſame roof, I paſſed the days of my youth, until my amiable preceptor in the firſt place, and my generous benefactor a few years afterwards (neither of them having reached his 50th year) ſunk into an untimely grave! Of Zachary Bayly, the renown is familiar to every one who has reſided in Jamaica at any time during the laſt forty years. I endeavoured to delineate his character on the ſtone which I inſcribed to his memory; and fondly hoping that my book will be read where the ſtone cannot be inſpected, I transfer to this page what his monument imperfectly records:

INSCRIPTION

INSCRIPTION IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, JAMAICA.

Near this place
lie the remains of
ZACHARY BAYLY,
Cuſtos and Chief Magiſtrate of the precinct
of St. Mary and St. George, and one of his Majeſty's
Hon: Council of this Iſland,
Who died on the 18th Dec. 1769,
in the 48th year of his age.

He was a Man
To whom the endowments of Nature render'd thoſe
of Art ſuperfluous.
He was wiſe without the aſſiſtance of recorded wiſdom,
And eloquent beyond the precepts of ſcholaſtick
rhetorick.

He applied, not to Books, but to Men,
And drank of Knowledge,
not from the ſtream, but the ſource.

To Genius, which might have been fortunate without Induſtry,
He added Induſtry, which, without Genius, might
have commanded Fortune.
He acquired Wealth with Honour,
And ſeemed to poſſeſs it only to be liberal.

His Publick Spirit
was not leſs ardent than his Private Benevolence;
He conſidered Individuals as Brethren,
And his Country as a Parent.

May his Talents be remembered with reſpect,
His Virtues with emulation!

Here alſo lies
(mingled with the ſame earth) the duſt of
NATHANIEL BAYLY EDWARDS,
his Nephew:
In whom diſtinguiſhed abilities and an amiable diſpoſition,
aſſiſted by ſuch an example,
gave the promiſe of equal excellence;
When, on the 28th of January 1771,
in the 21st year of his age,
He paid the debt to Nature:

His ſurviving Brother,
BRYAN EDWARDS,
Inſcribes this Stone as a memorial of his Gratitude,
Affection, and Eſteem.

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# APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

## No. I.

*A general ſtate of agriculture, and Negro population in the iſland of Jamaica, at the cloſe of 1791, from the report of a Committee of the Houſe of Aſſembly.*

| | Number. | Negroes employed thereon. |
|---|---|---|
| Sugar plantations, - - | 767 - | 140,000 |
| Coffee plantations - - | 607 - | 21,000 |
| Grazing and breeding farms called penns | 1,047 - | 31,000 |
| Of ſmall ſettlements for the growth of cotton, ginger, pimento, corn and other proviſions, the number is not aſcertained: they are ſuppoſed (including the Negroes in the ſeveral towns) to give employment to | - - | 58,000 |
| Total number of enſlaved Negroes in Jamaica in 1791 - | | 250,000 |

## No. II.

*An account of the number of ſugar plantations in the iſland of Jamaica in* 1772, *and again in* 1791, *diſtinguiſhing the pariſhes; alſo the number in each pariſh which were ſold, in the interim, for the payment of debts;—the number remaining in* 1791 *in the hands of mortgagees, truſtees or receivers;—the number thrown up and abandoned, or converted into other cultivation between the two periods:—and the number of new plantations recently ſettled, or which were ſettling, at the end of the laſt period.*

| PARISHES. | Plantations in the hands of the proprietors | Sold for the payment of debts ſince 1772 | In the hands of mortgagees, truſtees or receivers. | Abandoned ſince 1772 | New plantations in 1792 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Weſtmorland - - - | 39 | 7 | 16 | 11 | 4 |
| Hanover - - - - | 40 | 22 | 9 | 4 | 8 |
| St. James - - - | 49 | 13 | 15 | 3 | 6 |
| St. Elizabeth - - | 16 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 2 |
| Trelawny - - - | 65 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| Total in the County of Cornwall - - | 209 | 58 | 47 | 30 | 27 |

APPENDIX.

| PARISHES. | Plantations in the hands of the proprietors | Sold for the payment of debts since 1772 | In the hands of mortgagees, trustees, or receivers | Abandoned since 1772 | New plantations in 1792 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St. Mary - - - | 37 | 21 | 8 | 0 | 2 |
| Clarendon - - - | 37 | 18 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Vere - - - | 22 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| St. Dorothy - - | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| St. John - - - | 13 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| St. Katharine - - | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| St. Thomas in the Vale - | 17 | 13 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| St. Anne - - - | 15 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| Total in the County of Middlesex - - | 149 | 74 | 23 | 11 | 12 |
| St. Andrew - - | 14 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Port Royal - - | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Portland - - | 15 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| St. George - - | 7 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| St. Thomas in the East - - | 48 | 23 | 14 | 5 | 0 |
| St. David - - - | 6 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Kingston - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total in the County of Surry - - - | 93 | 45 | 22 | 14 | 8 |
| GRAND TOTAL - | 451 | 177 | 92 | 55 | 47 |

*Summary*

*Summary.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Exiſting plantations in 1791 - - - - | 720 |
| Plantations then recently ſettled or ſettling - | 47 |
| Total number of ſugar eſtates in 1791 - - | 767 |

*Obſervations.*

From the preceding table it is ſufficiently obvious, that in the courſe of twenty years ending 1791, the planters of Jamaica (however profitably employed in the ſervice of the mother-country) were labouring to little purpoſe for themſelves: it appearing that no leſs than 177 ſugar plantations had been ſold, during that period, for the payment of debts;—that 55 had been abandoned by the proprietors, and that 92 others remained in the hands of creditors! Since the year 1791, a favourable change has taken place, and it is preſumed that at this time (December 1797) near 200,000 negroes are employed ſolely in the cultivation of ſugar; but the moſt rapid improvement which this iſland has experienced is a vaſt encreaſe in the growth of coffee. The following is an authentick return from the naval officer:—viz.

ACCOUNT

APPEN-DIX.

Account of Coffee exported from the Iſland of Jamaica for 10 Years, viz. 1787, to 1797:

| | | lbs. to Great-Britain. | lbs. to America. |
|---|---|---|---|
| From 1ſt Auguſt 1787, to 1ſt Auguſt | 1788 | 808,528 | 393,273 |
| | 1789 | 1,204,649 | 382,489 |
| | 1790 | 1,412,241 | 427,130 |
| | 1791 | 2,114,326 | 291,764 |
| | 1792 | 2,708,548 | 144,849 |
| | 1793 | 3,543,003 | 69,657 |
| | 1794 | 4,314,290 | 257,103 |
| | 1795 | 4,452,611 | 1,479,961 |
| | 1796 | 5,273,814 | 1,757,444 |
| | 1797 | 6,708,272 | 1,223,349 |
| Total - | - | 32,540,282 | 6,427,019 |

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*** *In the former editions of this work was ſubjoined to this Appendix, an* Hiſtorical Account of the Conſtitution of Jamaica, *which being found by the printer too long for the firſt volume of this edition, is now transferred to volume the third.*

THE

# HISTORY,

## *CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,*

OF

## The Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

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## BOOK III.

### ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

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## CHAP. I.

## BARBADOES.

*Firſt arrival of the Engliſh at this iſland.—Origin, progreſs, and termination of the proprietary government.—Revenue granted to the crown of 4½ per centum on all produce exported—how obtained.—origin of the act of navigation.—Situation and extent of the iſland.—Soil and produce.—Population.—Decline, and cauſes thereof.—Exports and imports.*

BOOK III.

THE iſland of Barbadoes, of which I now propoſe to treat, was probably firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe in their voyages from Braſil; and from them it received the name which it

Published by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, Oct.r 6. 1794.

ſtill retains *(a)*. It was found without occupants or claimants. The Charaibes, for reaſons altogether unknown to us, had deſerted it, and the Portugueſe, ſatisfied with the ſplendid regions they had acquired on the continent, ſeem to have conſidered it as of little value. Having furniſhed it with a breed of ſwine for the benefit of ſuch of their countrymen as might navigate the ſame track, they left the iſland in all other reſpects as they found it.

Of the Engliſh, the firſt who are known to have landed in this iſland, were the crew of a ſhip called the *Olive Bloſſom*, bound from London to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the expence of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas ſtiles 'a worſhipful knight of Kent.' Finding it without inhabitants, they took poſſeſſion of the country, by fixing up a croſs on the ſpot where *James-Town* was afterwards built, with this inſcription, "James king of England and this iſland;" but they began no ſettlement, nor made any conſiderable ſtay in a country entirely uninhabited and overgrown with woods; yet it furniſhed them with freſh proviſions. They found pigs, pigeons, and parrots, and the ſea abounded with fiſh.

Some years after this, a ſhip of Sir William Courteen's, a merchant of London, returning

*(a)* It is ſaid not to have been noticed in any ſea-chart before the year 1600.

from

BOOK III.

from Brazil, was driven by ſtreſs of weather into this iſland, and finding refreſhments on it, the maſter and ſeamen, on their arrival in England, made ſo favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley (afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treaſurer) immediately obtained from King James the Firſt a grant of the iſland to himſelf and his heirs in perpetuity.

COURTEEN himſelf was a man of extenſive views and magnificent projects. He immediately began (probably under the patronage of Marlborough) to form ideas of eſtabliſhing a colony in the diſtant but promiſing territory. Having engaged about thirty perſons to ſettle in the iſland, and furniſhed them with tools, proviſions, and neceſſaries of all kinds for planting and fortifying the country, he appointed William Deane their governor, and ſent them away in a ſhip called the *William and John*, commanded by John Powell. They arrived ſafe in the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the foundations of a town, which, in honour of the ſovereign, they denominated JAMES-TOWN; and thus began the firſt Engliſh ſettlement in the iſland of Barbadoes.

FOR ſome time previous to this, it had become faſhionable in England, for men of high rank and diſtinction to engage in ſea adventures, proclaiming

CHAP. I.

proclaiming themselves the patrons of colonization and foreign commerce. In the list of those who contributed to the British settlements in Virginia, New England, the Bermuda islands, and other places in the new world, may be found the names of many of the first nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Among others who distinguished themselves in such pursuits, at the time that Barbadoes was thus planted by a private merchant, was James Hay, earl of Carlisle. This nobleman was at that juncture engaged in the establishment of a colony in the island of St. Christopher (as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to relate) and, either not knowing of the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own pretensions *(b)*, he applied for and obtained, in the first year of Charles I. a warrant for a grant, by letters patent under the great seal of England, of all the Charaibean islands including Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be actually passed, the Earl of Marlborough opposed it, on the ground of priority of right. The dispute between these noble lords continued for a considerable

(*b*) It is said that he had obtained from James I. a grant, or warrant for a grant, under the great seal, of all the Charaibean islands, which the king erected into a province by the name of *Carliola*, on the model of the palatinate of *Durham*.

time;

BOOK III.

time; at length the contending parties thought it prudent to compromiſe the matter, and, on the Earl of Carliſle's undertaking to pay the annual ſum of £.300 to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marlborough waved his patent, and, in conſequence of this arrangement, on the 2d of June 1627, the Earl of Carliſle's patent paſſed the great ſeal, who thereupon became ſole proprietor *(c)*.

DURING

*(c)* Among other clauſes in this grant are the following. "Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and ſucceſſors, have authorized and appointed the ſaid *James* Earl of *Carliſle*, and his heirs (of whoſe fidelity, prudence, juſtice, and wiſdom, we have great confidence) for the good and happy government of the ſaid province, whether for the publick ſecurity of the ſaid province or the private utility of every man, to make, erect, and ſet forth, and under his or their ſignet to publiſh, ſuch laws as he the ſaid Earl of *Carliſle*, or his heirs, *with the conſent, aſſent, and approbation of the free inhabitants of the ſaid province or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called*, and in ſuch form as he or they in his or their diſcretion ſhall think fit and beſt. And theſe laws muſt all men for the time being, that do live within the limits of the ſaid province, obſerve; whether they be bound to ſea, or from thence returning to *England*, or any other our dominions, or any other place appointed, upon ſuch impoſitions, penalties, impriſonment, or reſtraint that it behoveth, and the quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body, or death itſelf, to be executed by the ſaid *James* earl of *Carliſle*, and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, juſtices, magiſtrates, officers, and miniſters, according to the tenor and true meaning of theſe preſents, in what cauſe ſoever, and with ſuch power

as

DURING this conteſt about the diſpoſal of countries moſt of which were at that time in CHAP. I.

as to him the ſaid *James* earl of *Carliſle*, or his heir, ſhall ſeem beſt; and to diſpoſe of offences or riots whatſoever, either by ſea or land, whether before judgment received, or after remitted, freed, pardoned or forgiven; and to do and to perform all and every thing and things, which to the fulfilling of juſtice, courts or manner of proceeding in their tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although expreſs mention of them in theſe preſents be not made, yet we have granted full power by virtue of theſe preſents therein to be made; which laws ſo abſolutely proclaimed, and by ſtrength of right ſupported as they are granted, we will, enjoin, charge, and command all and every ſubject and liege people of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſo far as them they do concern, inviolably to keep and obſerve, under the pains therein expreſſed; ſo as notwithſtanding the aforeſaid laws be agreeable and not repugnant unto reaſon, nor againſt it; but as convenient and agreeable as may be to the laws, ſtatutes, cuſtoms, and rights of our kingdom of *England*."—" We will alſo, of our princely grace, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſtraightly charge, make, and ordain, that the ſaid province be of our allegiance, and that all and every ſubject and liege people of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, brought or to be brought, and their children, whether there born or afterwards to be born, become natives and ſubjects of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, and be as free as they that were born in *England*; and ſo their inheritance within our kingdom of *England*, or other our dominions, to ſeek, receive, take, hold, buy, and poſſeſs, and uſe and enjoy them as his own, and to give, ſell, alter, and bequeath them at their pleaſure; *and alſo freely, quietly, and peaceably, to have and poſſeſs all the liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of this kingdom*, and them to uſe and enjoy as liege people of *England*, whether born, or to be born, without impediment, moleſtation, vexation, injury or trouble of us our heirs and ſucceſſors, any ſtatute, act, ordinance, or proviſo, to the contrary notwithſtanding."

the hands of their proper owners, the Charaibes; the man, who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England, ſeems to have been ſhamefully neglected. The Earl of Marlborough, having ſecured to himſelf and his poſterity, the gratification I have mentioned, deſerted him; and the Lord Carliſle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcileable enemy. Courteen, however, found a friend in William Earl of Pembroke, who repreſented his caſe in ſuch a light to the King, as to obtain a revocation of Carliſle's patent, and a grant to himſelf in truſt for Courteen.

But the hopes of this worthy citizen were of ſhort continuance. The Earl of Carliſle was, at that juncture, abſent from the kingdom, a circumſtance which gave ſome colour to his charge of injuſtice and precipitancy in the proceeding. On his return to England, he complained that he had been condemned and deprived of his property unheard; and the monarch on the throne, who ſeems, through the whole of his unfortunate reign, rather to have wanted reſolution to purſue the right path, than ſagacity to diſcern it, trod back his ground a ſecond time; for unable to reſiſt the clamorous importunity of a worthleſs favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the Earl of Pembroke, and, by ſecond letters patent

to

to the Earl of Carlifle, again reftored to him the privileges of which he had himfelf, a fhort time before, deprived him. CHAP. I.

THUS by an act of power, which its repugnancy and abfurdity alone rendered illegal, the Earl of Carlifle again found himfelf lord paramount of Barbadoes; and in order completely to ruin all the interefts in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to diftribute the lands to fuch perfons as chofe to receive grants at his hands on the terms propofed to them. A fociety of London merchants (d) accepted ten thoufand acres, on conditions which promifed great advantage to the proprietor; but they were allowed the liberty of fending out a perfon to prefide over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpofe of Charles Woolferftone, who repaired to the ifland, accompanied with fixty-four perfons, each of whom was authorized to take up one hundred acres of land.

THESE people landed on the fifth of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's fettlement was in a very promifing condition; but Woolferftone declared it an encroachment and ufurpation, and being fupported by the arrival of Sir William

(d) The names of thofe merchants were Marmaduke Brandon, William Perkin, Alexander Banifter, Robert Wheatley, Edmond Forfter, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John Charles, and John Farringdon.

 Tufton,

Tufton, who was ſent out as chief governor by Lord Carliſle, in 1629, with a force ſufficient for the maintenance of his pretenſions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to ſubmit; and the intereſts of the latter were thenceforth ſwallowed up and forgotten (e).

The facts which I have thus recited have been related ſo often by others, that an apology might be neceſſary for their inſertion in this work, were it not, that by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct ſome important errors in each. And the claim of the Earl of Carliſle having originally introduced and eſtabliſhed the very heavy internal impoſition on their groſs produce, to which the planters of this, and ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, are to this day liable; I have thought it neceſſary to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim itſelf from the beginning. In what manner it produced the burthen in queſtion, and how Barbadoes reverted from a proprietary to a royal government, I ſhall now proceed to relate.

The adminiſtration of Sir William Tufton, the firſt governor appointed by Lord Carliſle, proving diſagreeable to his lordſhip, Captain

(e) In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of land, comprizing in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d of February, 1630, he paſſed divers laws, and among others, one for dividing the iſland into ſix pariſhes.

Henry

Henry Hawley was ſent over in 1631 to ſuperſede him. Tufton reſenting this meaſure, procured the ſignatures of ſome of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley conſtrued this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he had him tried and condemned by a court-martial, and with very little ceremony cauſed him to be ſhot to death; a proceeding univerſally exclaimed againſt as a moſt horrid and atrocious murder. Hawley, however, though recalled on this account, not only eſcaped puniſhment through the intereſt of his noble patron, but was ſoon afterwards ſent back again as chief governor; in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who however permitted his brother, William Hawley, to act as commander in chief, until a governor ſhould be nominated at home. He was ſucceeded by Major Hunckes, who, leaving the iſland in 1641, appointed Philip Bell, Eſquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor *(f)*. But the conduct of

CHAP. I.

*(f)* During the adminiſtration of this gentleman, many ſalutary laws were paſſed; among others the following:

1ſt. "*An Act* for the continuance and obſervation of all acts and ſtatutes not repealed;" which act recites that there were divers and ſundry good and wholeſome laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, aſſigned, and agreed

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of Hawley, thus violent and bloody, and the ſupport which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new ſettlers from power thus delegated and abuſed; and the proprietor's authority loſt ground every day. In the mean time, the civil war in England cauſed many

agreed upon, by and with the aſſent, conſent, and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every pariſh of the iſland, intituled, *A General Aſſembly for that purpoſe elected, made, and choſen.* And it is thereby enacted, that none of thoſe laws ſhall be altered, or any thing added to to them, without the conſent of a like *General Aſſembly.* And that every pariſh ſhould have two repreſentatives at leaſt, to be elected by the freeholders.

2d. An addition to an act intituled, "An Act for ſettling the eſtates and titles of the inhabitants of this iſland to their poſſeſſions in their ſeveral plantations within the ſame:" it is therein recited, that in a clauſe in the firſt act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this iſland, that were in quiet poſſeſſion of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the ſame warrant, ſhould have, hold, and enjoy the ſame, *as their free eſtate:* and, as ſome ſcruples had ſince ariſen, whether an eſtate for life or inheritance might be conſtrued from the ſame, for want of the words *their heirs*; to the intent the ſame might be more fully explained, and all diſputes of that kind for the future aboliſhed, it is enacted, that by the words *as their free eſtates*, was meant, *the whole eſtate and inheritance* of the reſpective plantations within this iſland, ſo that by ſuch poſſeſſion in manner as by the ſaid act is expreſſed, the ſaid inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to diſpoſe of or alienate, or otherwiſe to deſcend, or be confirmed to their heirs for ever."

people,

people, of peaceable tempers and diſpoſitions, chiefly royaliſts, to take refuge in this iſland; and the conſequent ruin of the King's affairs induced a ſtill greater number, many of whom had been officers of rank in his ſervice, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother-country to this iſland was indeed ſo great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furniſhing even a regiment of horſe to the number of one thouſand.

"These adventurers," ſays Lord Clarendon, "planted without any body's leave, and without "being oppoſed or contradicted by any body." The caſe ſeems to have been, that the governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himſelf; and the claim of the proprietor, whether diſputed in the iſland, or diſregarded amidſt the confuſions at home, was at length tacitly and ſilently relinquiſhed *(g)*.

The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flouriſhed beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then Earl of Carliſle, who was ſon and heir of the patentee, ſtimulated by the renown of its

*(g)* Lord Carliſle had originally ſtipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each perſon who held lands under his grant.

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wealth and profperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and, entering into a treaty with Lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by leafe for twenty-one years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean time; but juftly apprehending that the refident planters might difpute his pretenfions, he very readily concurred with Lord Willoughby in foliciting a commiffion for the latter, as chief governor, under the fanction of regal authority (*h*).

THIS, though an abfolute dereliction of the proprietaryfhip, was afked and obtained; and the Lord Willoughby, thus commiffioned, embarked for his government; and, in confideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's intereft, with refpect and obedience. It feems probable, that at his firft coming, he faid nothing of his leafe from Carlifle; trufting rather to future management for the re-eftablifhment of that lord's pretenfions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by Lord Clarendon, that he obtained from the planters a promife of a contribu-

(*h*) When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commiffion therefore, with his Majefty's privity and approbation, was figned by the Prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

tion

tion to the proprietor; but before it was carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republick, by whom another governor was appointed. CHAP. I.

On the restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of the royal authority over all the British dominions *(i)*, Lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of his lease unexpired, applied to the King for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inhabitants, if his lordship had considered himself merely as representative of the crown; but his connection and contract with the Earl of Carlisle, were by this time sufficiently understood by the planters, who saw with astonishment that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their possessions. They solicited therefore the King's support and protection. "They pleaded," says Clarendon, "that they were the King's subjects; that they had repaired to Barba-

*(i)* On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetage, in consideration of their sufferings and loyalty during the civil war: They were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacket, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

does

BOOK III. does as to a defolate place, and had by their induftry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good confcience ftay in England; that if they fhould now be left to thofe lords to ranfom themfelves and compound for their eftates, they muft leave the country, and the plantation be deftroyed, which yielded his Majefty fo great a revenue." Refpecting the charter granted to the earl of Carlifle, they infifted pofitively that it was void in law; and they made two humble propofitions to the King, either that his Majefty would give them leave to inftitute in his name, but at their own coft, a procefs in the Exchequer for trying the validity of the earl's patent; or that he would leave thofe who claimed under it (for the fecond Earl of Carlifle dying in the interim, had bequeathed his rights in the Weft Indies to the earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, abfolutely denying that either the late or former Lord Carlifle had fuftained the fmalleft expence in fettling the colony.

Instead of confenting to either of thofe moft reafonable propofitions, the King ordered enquiry to be made into the feveral allegations and claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom fome of the planters being heard, one of them, in order more readily to induce the King to take the fovereignty of the ifland into his own hands, offered,

fered, in the name of the inhabitants, to conſent, in that caſe, to lay an impoſition of ſo much in the hundred on the produce of their eſtates, out of which his Majeſty's governor might be honourably ſupported, and the King diſpoſe of the overplus as he ſhould think fit. To a monarch of Charles's diſpoſition, this was too tempting a propoſition to be reſiſted. We are informed that his Majeſty *received the offer very graciouſly*; "and the next care of the committee," adds the noble hiſtorian, who was himſelf of that body, "was to make ſome computation, that might be depended upon, as to the yearly revenue, that would ariſe upon the impoſition within the iſland." But the planters, when called up the next day to give ſatisfaction in this particular, inſiſted that Mr. Kendall, the perſon who had made the offer, had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the iſland; and the utmoſt they could be brought to promiſe for themſelves was, that they would uſe their endeavours with their friends in the iſland, to ſettle ſuch a revenue on the crown as the circumſtances of the colony would admit of, which they ſaid the aſſembly alone was competent to determine.

The proſpect of a revenue, though diſtant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the Earl of Carliſle, the patentee, who was indebted, it ſeems, at his death, in the ſum of

£ 80,000,

BOOK III. £. 80,000, and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possessions. The heirs of the Earl of Marlborough likewise put in their claim for the arrearage of the annuity of £. 300, granted under the original compromise which I have before mentioned; and the Lord Willoughby insisted at the same time on receiving a moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his lease. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the Earl of Kinnoul.

To satisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole aim of the King's ministers; by whom, after a tedious but partial investigation (considering the colony as wholly at the King's mercy) it was finally ordered, that the Lord Willoughby should immediately repair to his government, and insist on the grant and establishment by the assembly of a permanent and irrevocable revenue of four and half per cent. to be paid in specie, on all dead commodities, the growth of the island, shipped to any port of the world; the money arising therefrom to be applied as follows:

First, towards an honourable and immediate provision for the Earl of Kinnoul, who, it was alledged,

alledged, had facrificed his fortune in the King's fervice, and who covenanted, on fuch provifion being fecured to him, to furrender the Carlifle patent to the crown: CHAP. I.

SECONDLY, towards fatisfaction and full difcharge of the Earl of Marlborough's annuity:

THIRDLY, it was ftipulated that the furplus fhould be divided equally between the creditors of the Earl of Carlifle and the Lord Willoughby, during the term yet unexpired of his lordfhip's leafe. On the expiration thereof, the remainder, after providing £. 1,200 *per annum* for the King's governor for the time being, was ordered to be paid among the faid creditors till their demands were fully fatisfied and difcharged:

FOURTHLY, on the extinction of thofe feveral incumbrances, it was ftipulated that the whole revenue, fubject to the charge of £. 1,200 *per annum* to the governor, fhould be at the difpofal of the crown.

ON thefe terms it was underftood that the proprietary government was to be diffolved, and that the planters were to confider themfelves as legally confirmed in poffeffion of their eftates; and to carry into effect the important point, on which the whole arrangement depended (the grant of a perpetual revenue by the affembly) Lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

IT is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordfhip's

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lordſhip's arrival, though devoted to the intereſts of the crown, ſhould have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the Britiſh government in the progreſs and concluſion of the whole buſineſs. Clarendon himſelf confeſſes, that the grant to Carliſle was voidable by law. The King therefore laid them under no great obligation in obtaining a ſurrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in conſequence of their exertions in ſupport of the royal cauſe during the civil war: by the late ſettlement they perceived a regard expreſſed towards every intereſt concerned but their own; and the return which they met with, both for their former ſervices, and alſo for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent ſtate by their recent labours, was a demand of a contribution, which they ſtated would amount to ten *per cent.* on the clear profits of their eſtates for ever.

But their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The King and his governor were too deeply intereſted to recede. The aſſembly was called upon to forge chains for themſelves and their children; and if perſuaſion ſhould fail, force was not only at hand, but was actually employed to compel them to ſubmiſſion. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in oppoſition, was arreſted and ſent priſoner to England, on a charge

charge of mutiny and treaſon, nor was he releaſed till after a tedious and ſevere confinement. Awed by this example, and ſenſible that no ſupport could be expected from the people at home, whoſe privileges lay proſtrate at the feet of the reſtored monarch, the aſſembly paſſed an act for the purpoſes required of them; and their poſterity ſtill bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear, the burthen of it *(k)*!

THE

*(k)* I have thought it may be ſatisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of peruſing the act at large, which I therefore ſubjoin, premiſing that the clauſe which exempts the lands called the 10,000 acres, and alſo that which ſtipulates for the building a ſeſſions-houſe, and a priſon, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government, out of the monies to be raiſed by the act, have been equally diſregarded by the crown. The ſeſſion-houſe and priſon were not finiſhed until the year 1730, and the expence (upwards of £.5,000) was then defrayed by a ſpecial tax on the inhabitants; and there was raiſed by other taxes no leſs a ſum than £.19,440. 1*s.* 4*d.* in three years (viz. from 1745 to 1748) for the repair of the fortifications.

*An ACT for ſettling the Impoſt on the Commodities of the Growth of this Iſland*; paſſed the 12th of September, 1663.—N° 36.

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the Firſt, of bleſſed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great ſeal of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carliſle and his heirs for ever, the propriety of this iſland of Barbadoes: And his ſacred Majeſty that now is having by purchaſe inveſted himſelf in all the rights of the ſaid Earl of Carliſle, and in all other rights which any other perſon may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby,

more

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THE conduct of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon in this affair, who indeed appears to have been

more immediately and particularly, hath taken this iſland into his royal protection. And his moſt excellent Majeſty having, by letters patent under the great ſeal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointed his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of Barbadoes and all the Caribbee iſlands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm, and aſſure to the inhabitants of the ſame, and their heirs, for ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under his Majeſty's great ſeal appointed for Barbadoes and the reſt of the Caribbee iſlands, as, relation being thereunto had, may and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the ſaid Earl of Carliſle's patent, divers governors and agents have been ſent over hither, with authority to lay out, ſet, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this iſland, to ſuch perſons as they ſhould think fit; which was by them, in their reſpective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for their ſaid lands, and others, by reaſon of the ignorances of thoſe, want ſufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them and their heirs, and others that never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proof of any grants or warrants they ever had for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet poſſeſſors of the ſame, and beſtowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compoſitions formerly raiſed to the Earl of Carliſle, was held very heavy: For a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the poſſeſſions and ſettling the tenures of the inhabitants of this iſland; Be it enacted by his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the aſſembly, and by the authority of the ſame, that notwithſtanding the defects afore-related all the now rightful

been the perſon chiefly conſulted in it, was afterwards thought ſo juſtly reprehenſible, as to give occaſion CHAP. I.

ful poſſeſſors of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within this iſland, according to the laws and cuſtoms thereof, may at all times repair unto his Excellency for the full confirmation of their eſtates and tenures, and then and there ſhall and may receive ſuch full confirmation and aſſurance, under his Majeſty's great ſeal for this iſland, as they can reaſonably adviſe or deſire, according to the true intent and meaning of this act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth abſolutely and fully releaſed and made void; and that the inhabitants of this iſland have and hold their ſeveral plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common ſoccage, yielding and paying therefore, at the feaſt of St. Michael every year, if the ſame be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, in full and free diſcharge of all rents and ſervices for the future whatſoever, in conſideration of the releaſe of the ſaid forty pounds, and in conſideration of the confirmation of all eſtates in this iſland as aforeſaid, and in acknowledgment of his Majeſty's grace and favour in ſending to and appointing over us his ſaid Excellency, of whoſe prudence and moderate government we have heretofore had large experience, and do reſt moſt aſſured thereof for the future. And foraſmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and proſperity of any place, and the protection of every ſingle perſon therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in ſome meaſure proportioned to the publick charges and expences; and alſo well weighing the great charges that there muſt be of neceſſity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's authority here; the publick meeting of the ſeſſions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, *the building a ſeſſions-houſe and a priſon, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government*;

 do,

BOOK III. occasion to the eighth article of his impeachment by the House of Commons in the year 1667. From

do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and do most humbly desire your Excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your Excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all other the Caribbee Islands, and by and with the consent of the council and the gentlemen of the assembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the same, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raised upon the native commodities of this island, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter set down and appointed; that is to say, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That if any goods before-mentioned, on which the said custom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel, to the intent to be carried into any parts beyond the seas, the said imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the said act, that then, and from thenceforth, shall the said goods be forfeit, the moiety thereof to be to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the other to him that shall inform, seize, and sue for the same in any court of record within this island; which grants are left to your Excellency's own way of levying, in full confidence and assurance that your Excellency will take such course for the collecting and gathering of the said impost, without any

 charge,

From his anſwer to that article, I have collected (chiefly in his own words) great part of the account that 

charge, duty or fees, as may be moſt for the eaſe of the people of this iſland.

Provided nevertheleſs, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, ſhall extend or be conſtrued to bar his Majeſty, or his ſaid Excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the ſea, ſince the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, *or to any lands commonly called or known by the name of The Ten Thouſand Acres;* the merchants land, granted by the late Earl of Carliſle, or his father, unto Marmaduke Rawden, Eſquire, William Perkins, Alexander Banniſter, Edmund Forſter, Captain Wheatley, and others their aſſociates, on certain covenants and conditions: *Provided alſo, that the growth and produce of the ſaid lands, mentioned in the preceding proviſo, be not liable to any tax, impoſt, or cuſtom, impoſed by this act; any thing in the ſame ſeeming to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That one act made the ſeventeenth day of January one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, intituled, An act importing the cuſtoms impoſed and granted by the council, and gentlemen of the aſſembly, to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Lieutenant-General of the Province of Carolina, and Governor of Barbadoes; as alſo, his Lordſhip's confirmation of the right of the inhabitants of this iſland to their ſeveral eſtates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be, and is from henceforth repealed, made void, fruſtrate, of none effect, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes whatſoever.

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In 1684, the aſſembly of this iſland propoſed to farm the four and a half *per cent.* for eleven years, for the annual rent of £.6,000 ſterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor and council concurred, and it was agreed that £.7,000 currency

BOOK III.

that I have given; and there cannot be a ſtronger demonſtration of the tendency of power to pervert the judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wiſeſt and worthieſt of men, than the juſtification he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having adviſed the king to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole iſland of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the iſſue.

THE proſecution of this great ſtateſman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the ſuffering planters; for in this, as in many other caſes, the redreſs of a grievance, and the puniſhment of its author, were objects of very diſtinct conſideration. Thoſe who ſought the ruin

currency *per annum* ſhould be raiſed by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed £.500 ſterling. An act paſſed March 19th 1684, for this purpoſe, and was ſent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms with whom they had adviſed, were of opinion that they could make no eſtimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at leaſt; and that the commiſſioners appointed for managing the ſaid duty in Barbadoes, had aſſured them the duty would be worth from £.8,000 to £.10,000 *per annum*. So the act was repealed.

This propoſal to farm the four and a half *per cent.* duty, was made in conſequence of Governor Dutton's ſignifying to the council and aſſembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his Majeſty was inclined to commute the tax, for a reaſonable recompence.

of

of Clarendon, had nothing leſs in view than the removal of oppreſſion, from ſubjects ſo remote as thoſe of Barbadoes. CHAP. I.

In thus tracing the origin, progreſs, and termination of the proprietary government in this iſland, I have purpoſely choſen not to break the thread of my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that ſubject. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth in England, circumſtances however aroſe, reſpecting this colony, which have produced ſuch effects on the general commerce of Great-Britain, as cannot be overlooked in an hiſtorical and commercial ſurvey of her Weſt Indian plantations, and of which I ſhall now give ſome account.

The reader has been ſufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians towards the regal government. One of the firſt acts paſſed by the aſſembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the firſt time, (1647) was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the Firſt, at that time a priſoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular reſentment againſt his perſecutors ran ſo high in this iſland, that the few planters who were ſuſpected to be in the intereſt of the parliament, thought it neceſſary to ſeek protection in England.

To puniſh ſuch ſtubborn defenders of a ruined

 cauſe,

BOOK III. cauſe, the parliament reſolved, in 1651, to ſend a powerful armament for the reduction of all the Engliſh colonies in America and the Weſt Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the moſt important and hoſtile of them all.

Many, indeed, were the motives which inſtigated the parliament to this determination. From the beginning of the commotions in the mother-country, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this neceſſary navigation, many of the ſhips and ſeamen of Holland; and at this juncture the Engliſh government entertained very hoſtile intentions towards the ſubjects of that republick. The reduction of Barbadoes would at once puniſh the coloniſts, and enable the Engliſh parliament to deprive the Dutch of ſo profitable an intercourſe with them; it would alſo enrich the treaſury of the new government, by the confiſcation of many valuable ſhips and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other iſlands. The parliament had reaſon likewiſe, it was ſaid, to apprehend that Prince Rupert, with a ſquadron of the King's ſhips, was about croſſing the Atlantick, to ſecure all the Engliſh American poſſeſſions for Charles the Second.

Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed on this expedition, arrived at Barbadoes on the 16th of October 1651, and

ſucceeded

ſucceeded at length in bringing the iſland to capitulate *(l)*: But this was not effected without great difficulty; for he met with ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, as determined his employers at home immediately to enforce a ſcheme they had projected a ſhort time before, of altering the whole ſyſtem of the Barbadian commerce; by prohibiting by an act of the Commonwealth, all foreign ſhipping from trading with the Engliſh plantations; and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than Engliſh bottoms; or in ſhips of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture. And thus aroſe the famous navigation act of this kingdom; for, immediately after the reſtoration, its proviſions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the maſter and three-fourths of the mariners, ſhould alſo be Engliſh ſubjects.

WHATEVER advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived

*(l)* Ayſcue agreed, among other things, that the government ſhould conſiſt of a governor, council, and aſſembly, according to the ancient and uſual cuſtom of the iſland. The aſſembly to be choſen by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the iſland in the ſeveral pariſhes. That no taxes, cuſtoms, impoſts, loans, or exciſe, ſhould be laid, nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this iſland, without their conſent in a general aſſembly; and that all laws that had been made by general aſſemblies, not repugnant to the laws of England, ſhould be good.

 from

from this celebrated law, it muſt be allowed that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great (m) writer hath obſerved) than thoſe of puniſhing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, juſtly conſidering the law as a chaſtiſement inflicted on them by the Commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Second, were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its proviſions adopted and confirmed on the reſtoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the eſtabliſhment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have ſo largely ſpoken, they thought themſelves treated with a rigour which bordered on ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effect of thoſe meaſures. How far their predictions have been accompliſhed, a comparative ſtate of the iſland at different periods will demonſtrate; with which, and a few miſcellaneous obſervations, I ſhall diſmiſs my preſent account.

Barbadoes is ſituated in 13° 10′ N. lat. and in longitude 59° W. from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, moſt of which is under cultivation. The ſoil in the low lands is black, ſomewhat reddiſh in the ſhallow parts; on the hills of a chalky marl, and near the ſea generally ſandy. Of this variety of ſoil,

(m) Blackſtone.

the

the black mould is beſt ſuited for the cultivation of the cane, and, with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of ſugar, in favourable ſeaſons, as any in the Weſt Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitt's excepted.

THAT the ſoil of this iſland is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we muſt neceſſarily admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are tranſmitted down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are aſſured, that about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boaſt of fifty thouſand white, and upwards of one hundred thouſand black inhabitants, whoſe labours, it is ſaid, gave employment to ſixty thouſand tons of ſhipping (*n*). I ſuſpect that this account is much exaggerated. It cannot however be doubted, that the inhabitants of this iſland have decreaſed with a rapidity ſeldom known in any other country. I have now before me authentick returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former conſiſted of no more than eighteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of ſixty-nine thouſand eight hundred and

(*n*) The earlieſt planters of Barbadoes were ſometimes reproached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into ſlavery the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The Hiſtory of *Inkle* and *Yarico*, which the Spectator has recorded for the deteſtation of mankind, took its riſe in this iſland; but happily this ſpecies of ſlavery has been long ſince aboliſhed: and perhaps ſuch of my readers as have ſympathized with the unfortunate Yarico, may not be ſorry to hear that ſhe bore her

BOOK III. and ſeventy. In 1786 the numbers were ſixteen thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſeven whites, eight hundred and thirty-eight free people of colour, and ſixty-two thouſand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

It appears too that the annual produce of this iſland (particularly ſugar) has decreaſed in a much greater proportion than in any other of the Weſt Indian colonies. Poſtlethwayte ſtates the crop of ſugar, in 1736, at 22,769 hogſheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt.; and the author of the *European Settlements*, publiſhed in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogſheads. As the author firſt quoted, gives a

her misfortunes with greater philoſophy than they have hitherto fancied. The ſtory was firſt related by *Ligon*, who (after praiſing poor Yarico's excellent complexion, which, he ſays, was "a bright bay:" and her ſmall breaſts "with "nipples of porphyrie") obſerves, that "ſhe chanc't after-"wards to be with child by a Chriſtian ſervant, and being "very great, walked down to a woode, in which was a pond "of water, and there, by the ſide of the pond, brought her-"ſelfe a-bed, and in three hours came home with the child "in her arms, a luſty boy, frolicke and lively." The crime of Inkle the merchant, however, admits of no palliation; but it is ridiculous enough to hear Abbé Raynal (willing to improve upon Addiſon) aſcribe to it an intended revolt of all the Negroes in Barbadoes, who, as he aſſerts, moved by indignation at Inkle's monſtrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the deſtruction of all the Whites; but their plot was diſcovered the night before it was to have been carried into effect. The *Hiſtoire Philoſophique* has a thouſand beauties; but it grieves me to ſay, that in point of hiſtorical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the Hiſtory of *Robinſon Cruſoe* or *Tom Thumb*.

precise

precise number, it is probable his statement was grounded on good authority. If so, the island has fallen off nearly one-half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogsheads of sugar, of 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The exports, on an average of 1784, 1785 and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogsheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of some smaller articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained.

THAT the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation, cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of October 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at £.1,320,564. 15s. sterling.

IT

It might have been presumed, however, from the favourable seasons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, since the failure of their sugar plantations, the inhabitants have found some resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not seem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring this island to its ancient splendor and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of 4½ *per cent.* on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have so largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the courage and virtue to signify to the sovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor consistent with the character of the common father of all his subjects, to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which, though nominally granted by themselves, was assuredly obtained by fraud and oppression, and of which the continuance is a check to honest industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of the decline of this beautiful and once valuable colony.

Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridgetown, Oftins or Charles Town, St. James's (formerly called The Hole,) and Speight's Town; Bridge Town, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, consisted of about fifteen hundred

hundred houſes, which were moſtly built of brick; and it is ſtill the ſeat of government, and may be called the chief reſidence of the governor, who is provided with a country villa called Pilgrims, ſituated within a mile of it: his ſalary was raiſed by Queen Anne from twelve hundred to two thouſand pounds *per annum*, the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half *per cent.* duty. The form of the government of this iſland ſo very nearly reſembles that of Jamaica, which has already been deſcribed, that it is unneceſſary to enter into detail, except to obſerve that the council is compoſed of twelve members, and the aſſembly of twenty-two. The moſt important variation reſpects the court of chancery, which in Barbadoes is conſtituted of the governor *and council*, whereas in Jamaica the governor is ſole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the governor ſits in council, even when the latter are acting in a legiſlative capacity. This, in Jamaica, would be conſidered improper and unconſtitutional. It may alſo be obſerved, that the courts of grand ſeſſions, common pleas and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are diſtinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one ſupreme court of judicature.

I ſhall cloſe my account of Barbadoes with the following authentick documents:

An

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veſſels, their Tonnage and Number wards from the Iſland of BARBADOES to all Parts of the World, 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, Inſpector-General of Great Britain.

| *Whither Bound.* | SHIPPING. | | | SUGAR. | RUM. | MELASSES. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nº. | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. qrs. lb. | Gallons. | Gallons. |
| To Great Britain — | 66 | 11,221 | 833 | 130,242 – 16 | 28,689 | 1,089 |
| Ireland — — | 3 | 317 | 28 | 2,114 – — | 25,200 | - - - - |
| American States | 54 | 6,416 | 379 | 2,668 – — | 213,400 | 700 |
| Br. Am. Colonies | 41 | 3,182 | 237 | 2,742 – — | 146,100 | 11,700 |
| Foreign W. Indies | 78 | 5,694 | 458 | - - - - - - | 2,000 | - - - - - |
| Africa — — | 1 | 87 | 7 | - - - - - - | 100 | - - - - - |
| Total — | 243 | 26,917 | 1,942 | 137,766 – 16 | 415,489 | 13,489 |

PRODUCE of the Iſland of BARBADOES exported,

| A. D. | SUGAR. | | | MELASSES. | | RUM. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Hds. | Trces. | Barls. | Hds. | Trces. | Hds. | Trces. | Barls. |
| 1786 | 8,659 | 82 | 3,419 | 114 | — | 5,199 | 39 | 693 |
| 1787 | 11,929 | 183 | 2,415 | 87 | 37 | 3,872 | 27 | 614 |
| 1788 | 10,309 | 63 | 3,674 | — | — | 3,386 | — | 607 |
| 1789 | 9,021 | 96 | 4,520 | — | — | 3,172 | — | 397 |
| 1790 | 9,998 | 123 | 2,935 | — | — | 2,331 | — | 261 |
| 1791 | 11,333 | 60 | 2,346 | 30 | — | 3,008 | — | 411 |
| 1792 | 17,073* | 125 | 2,698 | 188 | — | 5,064 | — | 512 |

* From this great Increaſe in the Export of Sugar, and Decreaſe in that in Europe, has encouraged the Cultivation of that Article on Plantations which

ACCOUNT of the Number of NEGROES in BARBADOES, and A- 1792, both

| A. D. | No. of Slaves | Do. imported. | Amount of Taxes. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1786 | 62,115 | 511 | £. 10,138 | 14 | $2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 1787 | 62,712 | 528 | 13,528 | 15 | $11\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1788 | 63,557 | 1,585 | 8,382 | 12 | $4\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1789 | 63,870 | 556 | 5,534 | 18 | 3 |
| 1790 | 64,068 | 131 | 13,482 | 19 | 0 |
| 1791 | 63,250 | 426 | 6,203 | 2 | $11\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 1792 | 64,330 | 744 | 9,443 | 19 | 3 |

of Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Out-
between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY
according to the actual Prices in London, as made out by the

| GINGER. | COTTON. | FUSTIC. | MISCEL. ARTICLES. | TOTAL *Value in Sterling Money agreeable to the London Market.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cwt. qrs. lb. | lbs. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Value. | |
| | | | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| 5,437 2 18 | 2,640,725 | 240 — 5 | 45,948 19 1 | 486,570 4 8 |
| 124 — — | 65,250 | 5 — — | 35 7 10 | 11,521 15 10 |
| - - - - - | - - - - | - - - - - | 38 5 — | 23,217 13 4 |
| - - - - - | - - - - | - - - - - | 69 16 — | 18,080 6 — |
| - - - - - | - - - - | - - - - - | 32 — — | 207 — — |
| - - - - - | - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | 8 15 — |
| 5,561 2 18 | 2,705,975 | 245 — 5 | 46,124 7 11 | 539,605 14 10 |

for Seven Years, from 1786 to 1792, both inclusive.

| GINGER. | ALOES. | | | COTTON. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bags and Barls. | Hds. | Trces. | Gourds. | Bags | lbs. |
| 8,070 | 1 | 0 | 409 | 8,864 | |
| 6,095 | 1 | 1 | 688 | 10,511 | |
| 5,364 | — | — | 303 | — | 1,894,365 |
| 5,180 | — | — | 372 | — | 1,327,840 |
| 4,565 | — | — | 475 | — | 1,287,088 |
| 3,735 | — | — | 770 | — | 1,163,157 |
| 3,046 | — | — | 515 | — | 974,178 |

of the Minor Staples, it seems probable that the advanced Price of that Article
had formerly been abandoned or appropriated to a different Line of Culture.

-mount of the PUBLIC TAXES for Seven Years, from 1786 to
inclusive.

☞ The Taxes thus levied on the Publick consist of a Capitation Tax on Negroes.—A Tax on Sugar Mills, Dwelling Houses, and Carriages; together with an Excise, &c. on Wines imported. Besides all which there is a Parochial Tax on Land amounting on Average throughout the Island to about Two Shillings *per* Acre, and an Assessment in Labour for the Repair of the Highways. The Whole is altogether exclusive of the heavy Duty of 4½ *per Cent.* to the Crown.

## CHAP. II.

### GRENADA and its Dependencies.

*First discovery, name and inhabitants.—French invasion and establishment in 1650.—War with, and extermination of the natives.—The island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac.—Misconduct and punishment of the deputy-governor.—The colony reverts to the crown of France.—State of the island in 1700.—And again in 1762, when captured by the English.—Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants.—First measures of the British government.—Claim of the crown to levy a duty of 4½ per cent. on produce exported.—Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the court of King's Bench on this important question.—Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord-chief-justice on this occasion.—Transactions within the colony.—Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholick capitulants.—Internal dissentions.—Defenceless state.—French invasion in 1779.—Brave defence of the garrison.— Unconditional surrender.—Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors.—Redress given by the court of France.—Grenada, &c. restored to Great Britain*

MAP of the ISLAND of
GRENADA,
for the History of the
WEST INDIES.
by Bryan Edwards Esq.r
David P.t
Laurent P.t
Middle I.
Levera P.t
High I.
Duquesne Bay
Grenada Bay
Duquesne P.t
Bourg du Grand Pauvre
QUARTIER DE SAUTEURS
QUARTIER DE GRAND PAUVRE
Antony I.
Gautier P.t
Gross P.t
Antony R.
Conference I.
Mount Loria R.
Conference Bay
Bourg de la Ance Goyave
Simon R.
Great R.
Great River P.t
Palmistes Bay
Palmistes P.t
QUARTIER DU GOYAVE
QUARTIER DU GRAND MARQUIS
R. Nianganrouw
R. du Grand Roi
Black Bay
Black Bay P.t
Black Bay R.
Bay R.
Little Grand Marquis R.
Port du Grand Marquis
Sweet R.
HAVEN
Grand Marquis R.
Great Pond
Little Bacolet R.
Beau Sejour R.
Great Bacolet R.
Bacolet P.t
Meneret R.
Meneret P.t
Harbour of Meneret
Crochu R.
Port du Crochu
Aunt P.t
S.t Eloy P.t
S.t Johns R.
Fort Royal
Great Shark R.
Shark P.t
QUARTIER DE BAS TERRE
QUARTIER DU MEGRAIN
THE GREAT BAY
Megrin
Petit Marquis P.t
Megrin P.t
Cabrit P.t
Petit Bacolet R.
Salinas P.t
Great Bay
Mace P.t
Fort Jeudy P.t
Statute Miles
1 2 3 4 5
Ramier I.
Pirouges P.t
Longitude West from London
35 30 25 61.º 20
20' 15' 10' 5 12º
Published by J. Stockdale Piccadilly Oct.r 6 1794.
J. Cooke sc. Mill Hill.

*Britain by the peace of* 1783.—*Present ſtate of the colony in reſpect to cultivation, productions and exports; government and population.* POSTSCRIPT. *Appendix.*

CHAP. II.

GRENADA was diſcovered by, and received its name from, Chriſtopher Columbus in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it poſſeſſed by a numerous and warlike people, amongſt whom it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to force a ſettlement. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapſed before the other nations of Europe conſidered the regions of the new world as countries, wherein all men might ſeize on what ſuited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obſcurity until the year 1650, when the avarice and ambition of a reſtleſs individual devoted them to deſtruction.

THIS perſon was Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Deſnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Chriſtopher. Notwithſtanding that the French eſtabliſhment in Martinico was itſelf of recent date, and that a great part of that iſland ſtill remained uncultivated; and although another eſtabliſhment was, at the ſame

BOOK III. time, begun by the ſame nation, in the large and fertile iſland of Guadaloupe, yet ſuch was the rapacioufneſs of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were eaſily collected by Du Parquet's encouragement for an attempt on Grenada; and it is apparent from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was conſidered as an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

The hiſtory of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father du Tertre, whoſe account exhibits ſuch a monſtrous mixture of fanaticiſm and knavery in the conduct of its leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. Although it is evident that the French had not the ſmalleſt juſtifiable pretence for this invaſion, yet we find the commanders adminiſtering the holy ſacrament, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to all the ſoldiers on their embarkation; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet, cauſing a croſs to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for ſucceſs to their enterprize.

This commander ſeems however to have had a few ſcruples of conſcience concerning the juſtice of his proceedings; for, having been received and entertained with the utmoſt kindneſs and cordiality by the natives (contrary to his expectation, and perhaps to his wiſhes) he thought it neceſſary

neceſſary to affect ſome little regard to moderation, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchaſe of the country. He gave the natives (obſerves Du Tertre) *ſome knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glaſs beads, beſides two bottles of brandy for the chief himſelf*; and thus (continues he) was the iſland fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themſelves in lawful purchaſe! After this notable tranſaction, it is not wonderful that the French ſhould conſider the refuſal of the poor ſavages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion.

Du Parquet, having thus eſtabliſhed a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection, left the government of the iſland to a kinſman, named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who poſſeſſed very ſingular talents for government; *and was remarkable for clemency and humanity*. We find this gentleman however, eight months afterwards, engaged in a moſt bloody war with the Charaibes; in the proſecution of which he authorized ſuch acts of cruelty as furniſh a portrait of him very different from that which the hiſtorian has exhibited. On receiving news of the revolt of the natives, Du Parquet ſent a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte ſeems not

 to

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to have wanted any incitement to acts of barbarity; for Du Tertre admits that he had already proceeded to murder, without mercy, every Charaibe that fell into his hands; not ſparing even the women and children.

Of the manner in which this humane and accompliſhed commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hoſtilities againſt theſe miſerable people, we may form an idea, from a circumſtance that occurred in one of their expeditions, of which the reverend hiſtorian concludes his narrative as follows: "Forty of the Charaibes were maſſacred on the ſpot. About forty others, who had eſcaped the ſword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they caſt themſelves headlong into the ſea, and miſerably periſhed. A beautiful young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of diſpute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the conteſt, by ſhooting the girl through the head. The place from which theſe barbarians threw themſelves into the ſea, has been called ever ſince *le Morne des Sauteurs* (a). Our people (having loſt but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to ſet fire to the cottages, and root up the proviſions of the ſavages, and, having deſtroyed, or taken away,

(a) Leapers Hill.

every

CHAP. II.

every thing belonging to them, *returned in high ſpirits,*" (*bien joyeux*).

By a ſeries of ſuch enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that poſſeſſed Grenada in 1650, was ſpeedily exterminated, and the French, having in this manner butchered all the natives, proceeded, in the next place, to maſſacre each other.

The particulars of this civil conteſt may, without injury to my readers, be omitted. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the ſupreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length eſtabliſhed in Grenada; but the expence which had attended the plantation from its outſet, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to furniſh in ſupport of his authority, had ſo greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaſer of all his rights and poſſeſſions in this iſland and its dependencies. In 1656 ſuch a purchaſer offered in the Count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

The conduct of Cerillac towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominion was highly injudicious and oppreſſive. He appointed a governor of ſo arrogant and rapacious a diſpoſition, and ſupported him in his extortions with ſuch obſtinacy, as to compel the moſt reſpectable of the ſettlers to quit the country and ſeek for ſafety

 under

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under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the adminiſtration of juſtice into their own hands; by ſeizing on the perſon of the governor, and bringing him to a publick trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged: but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His requeſt would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the buſineſs of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by conſenting that he ſhould be ſhot, and he ſuffered in that mode with great compoſure.

Some years after this, Monſieur de Cerillac, the proprietor, receiving, as it may be ſuppoſed, but little profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and intereſt in Grenada, &c. to the French Weſt Indian company; whoſe charter being aboliſhed in 1674, the iſland from thenceforward became veſted in the crown of France.

Under the various revolutions and calamities which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined that cultivation had made but little progreſs in it; but although order and ſubmiſſion were at length introduced by the eſtabliſhment of the royal authority, various cauſes concurred to keep the colony in a ſtate of poverty and depreſſion for many years afterwards. Even ſo late as 1700, if Raynal has

has been rightly informed, the iſland contained no more than 251 whites and 525 blacks; who were employed on 3 plantations of ſugar, and 52 of indigo.

After the peace of Utrecht, the government of France began to turn its attention towards her Weſt Indian poſſeſſions. Grenada however, for many years, partook leſs of its care than the reſt. It had no conſtant correſpondence with the mother-country: ſome oppreſſive regulations of the farmers-general ruined the cultivation of one of its ſtaples, tobacco: and the planters had not the means of obtaining a ſupply of negroes from Africa, ſufficient for the purpoſe of cultivating ſugar to any extent. Theſe inconveniencies led them into a ſmuggling intercourſe with the Dutch: a reſource which at length changed their circumſtances for the better; encreaſed their numbers and occaſioned a great part of the country to be ſettled, inſomuch that when, in the year 1762, the fortune of war made the Engliſh maſters of this and the reſt of the French Charaibean iſlands, Grenada and the Grenadines are ſaid to have yielded annually, in clayed and muſcovado ſugar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogſheads of muſcovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs. of indigo.

Grenada ſurrendered on capitulation in February 1762, and, with its dependencies, was

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finally ceded to Great Britain by the definitive treaty of peace at Paris on the 10th of February 1763; St. Lucea being reſtored at the ſame time to France. The chief ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the articles of capitulation, were theſe; 1ſt. That, as they would become by their ſurrender, ſubjects of Great Britain, they ſhould enjoy their properties and privileges, and pay taxes, *in like manner as the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects of the other Britiſh Leeward Iſlands.* 2dly. With reſpect to religion, they were put on the ſame footing as the inhabitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given them to exerciſe it according to the rites of the Romiſh Church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted.* 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grenada as choſe to quit the iſland, ſhould have liberty ſo to do, and eighteen months ſhould be allowed them to diſpoſe of their effects.

The iſland and its dependencies being thus become a Britiſh colony, one of the firſt meaſures of government was to iſſue a proclamation under the great ſeal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongſt other things, it is declared "that all perſons inhabiting in, or reſorting to, the iſland of Grenada, might confide "in the royal protection for the enjoyment of "the benefit of the laws of England, with the "right of appeal to the king in council, as fully "as

"as the inhabitants of the other Britiſh colonies "in America under the king's immediate go-"vernment."—It alſo ſets forth, "that the king, "by letters patent under the great ſeal, had given "expreſs power and direction to the governor, as "ſoon as the ſtate and circumſtances of the co-"lony would admit thereof, with the advice and "conſent of the council, and the repreſentatives "of the people, to make, conſtitute, and ordain "laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances for the good go-"vernment thereof, as near as may be agreeably "to the laws of England, and under ſuch regu-"lations and reſtrictions as are uſed in the other "Britiſh colonies."

THIS proclamation was followed by another, dated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purchaſers upon certain terms and conditions.

THE governor thus ſaid to have been appointed, was general Melville, whoſe commiſſion however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the aſſembly which he was directed to ſummon, met for the firſt time in 1765; previous to which, the Britiſh inhabitants were irreſiſtibly called to the diſcuſſion of a great conſtitutional queſtion; of which it is proper I ſhould now give ſome account.

THE queſtion aroſe from the information, that the crown, conceiving itſelf entitled by the terms of

BOOK III. of the capitulation to the duty of 4½ *per cent.* upon all produce exported from the newly ceded iſlands, as paid at Barbadoes, &c. had iſſued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764, ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 29th of September, then next enſuing, ſuch duty or import in ſpecie, ſhould be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all cuſtoms and duties formerly paid to the French king.

We have ſeen, in the hiſtory of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that iſland became ſubject to the duty in queſtion; and to what purpoſes the money was expreſsly ſtipulated to be applied; but unjuſtifiable as were the means by which that impoſition was originally eſtabliſhed in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themſelves, by their repreſentatives in their legiſlative capacity. Even Charles the IId. in whoſe reign the grant paſſed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an aſſembly of its own, competent to that purpoſe. The king was ready enough to overawe, or to corrupt the members which compoſed that aſſembly; but he left them the form and ſemblance at leaſt, of a free government.

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In defence of the prefent meafure, it was urged that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invefted with the power of putting the inhabitants under what form of government he thought beft; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he faw fit; and further, that the affurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they fhould enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his Majefty's fubjects in the Britifh Leeward Iflands, neceffarily implied that they were bound to fubmit to the fame confequences of their being fubjects as were fubmitted to by the inhabitants of thofe iflands; one of which was the payment of the duty in queftion. It was faid therefore that the demand of this duty was moft reafonable, equitable and political; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the fame footing with all the Britifh Leeward Iflands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if lefs, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward Iflands.

On the other fide, it was contended, that the letters patent were void on two points, the firft was "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercife fuch a legiflative power over a conquered country." The fecond point

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point was, " that although the king had ſufficient power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do ſuch a legiſlative act, he had diveſted himſelf of ſuch authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."

THE crown however perſiſting in its claim, and the inhabitants in oppoſing it, iſſue was joined on the arguments that I have ſtated, and the queſtion was at length referred to a ſolemn adjudication before the judges of the Court of King's Bench in England *(b)*.

THE caſe was elaborately argued in Weſtminſter-hall, four ſeveral times; and in Michaelmas term 1774, Lord chief juſtice Mansfield pronounced judgment, *againſt the crown*. The conſequence was, that the duty in queſtion was aboliſhed, not only in Grenada, but alſo in the ceded iſlands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

IT may be reaſonably ſuppoſed that the inhabitants of all theſe iſlands had ſufficient cauſe for exultation at a verdict ſo favourable to their intereſts; but the circumſtances on which the deciſion was founded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the ſubject of much animadverſion; and indeed (if I may obtrude my own opinion in ſuch a caſe) they

*(b)* The caſe is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

appear

appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency.

The noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the Court, rested the determination solely on the circumstance, that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters patent; observing, that the king had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, *before* the letters patent were issued. "Through inattention, he said, of the king's servants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compass, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of discussion in support of the regal authority over conquered countries; maintaining "that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation;—if he refuses, *and puts the inhabitants to the sword, or otherwise exterminates them*, all the lands belong to himself. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix *such terms and conditions as he thinks proper*. He may (said the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, *on what terms he pleases*, and change part, or the whole, of the law, or political

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litical form of its government, *as he ſees beſt.*" In reply to an obſervation, that no adjudged caſe, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared that this was not to be wondered at, "inaſmuch as no queſtion was ever ſtarted before but that the king has a right *to a legiſlative authority* over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in reſpect of Jamaica. The aſſembly of that iſland being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge to know "what could be done if the aſſembly ſhould obſtinately continue to withhold all the uſual ſupplies." They reported, that "if Jamaica was ſtill to be conſidered as *a conquered iſland*, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be conſidered in the ſame light *as the other colonies*, no tax could be impoſed on the inhabitants, but by *an aſſembly of the iſland*, or by *an act of parliament.*"

It is impoſſible, I think, not to perceive, throughout theſe, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias ariſing from the unhappy diſſentions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progreſs of which, it is believed, this noble perſon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an active partizan, and a powerful advocate for the unconditional ſupremacy of the mother-

mother-country. I might otherwife be chargeable with great arrogance in prefuming to differ from fuch weight of authority; but furely it will be permitted me to examine the doctrine maintained on this occafion, by the teft of thofe cafes, which the noble judge himfelf adduced in its fupport. In fuch an examination, plain argument and common fenfe may fupply the fubtleties of legal refinement, and the want of profeffional learning. CHAP. II.

THE cafes chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were thofe of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York; in all which places it was afferted that the king, after their conqueft, had, of his own authority, exercifed the powers of legiflature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws, and eftablifhing a new fyftem of government over the inhabitants. "No man (obferved his lordfhip, in the cafe of Ireland) ever faid, that the change in the laws of that country was made by the parliament of England: no man ever faid the crown could not do it."

WITH the utmoft deference, however, to the fentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I prefume to think that the queftion was not fimply, Whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England, had the right of exercifing the authority contended for?—I will even admit that the interpofition of parliament was unneceffary.

Still

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Still however the main queſtion remains to be anſwered, which is, *To what extent may the royal prerogative in ſuch caſes be exerted?* Did the noble judge mean to aſſert, that conqueſt deſtroys *all* the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to preſcribe to them, *not merely the Engliſh conſtitution*;—but any other ſyſtem he thinks beſt? If ſuch was the opinion, it may be affirmed that the caſes which his lordſhip adduced in ſupport of his argument, warrant no ſuch concluſion.

THE firſt caſe was that of Ireland. "The fact, ſays the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland *received the laws of England* by the charters and commands of Henry II. King John, and Henry III."

OF Wales, the noble lord obſerves "that the ſtatute of Wales (12 Edward I.) is certainly no more than *regulations*, made *by the king in his council* for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it *as a conqueſt*;" but let us hear on this ſubject the learned judge Blackſtone. "This territory, obſerves Blackſtone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feodal reſumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the ſtatute of Rutland expreſſes it, *terra Walliae cum incolis ſuis, prius regi jure feodali ſubjecta*, (of which homage was the ſign) *jam in proprietatis*

*prietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate conversa est, et coronae regni Angliae tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita.* But the finishing stroke to their independency, was given by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26. which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to *a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England.* Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put *upon the same footing, and made fellow citizens with their conquerors.*"

ANOTHER case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble lord, " after the conquest of it, was governed by charters from the crown, without the interposition of Parliament, till the reign of James I." The noble judge would have stated this case more fairly, had he said that Edward I. *at the request of the inhabitants*, confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient laws; but that " its constitution was put *on an English footing*, by a charter of king James." These are the very words of Blackstone.

THE case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and, like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. " King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and poli-

 tical

tical government; by granting it to the duke of *York*, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the *letters patent*."—So far is true; but what followed? This duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly he attempted at first to introduce into the newly acquired country, a system little consonant to British freedom; but he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature; and these deputies actually voted "that all the ordinances which had been made by the governor and council, before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, *because they were passed in a manner repugnant to the constitution of England.*"

From this recital, it is I think evident that the noble and learned judge mistook the *gist* of the question; or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, *of extending to his newly acquired subjects, the benefits of the English constitution*, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases; or, *by none at all.*

It

CHAP. II.

It would ſeem then that, if the caſes which have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has preſcribed, nor could preſcribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether acquired by conqueſt or ſettlement;—and good authorities are not wanting in ſupport of this doctrine. "The king of Great Britain (ſays an excellent writer *(c)* although at the head of a free ſtate, may, in his own right, hold other ſtates, under a form of government *that is not free*; as he does, for inſtance, the ſtates of the electorate of Hanover. He may too even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative and as generaliſſimo of the empire, hold a conquered ſtate (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but, in the inſtant that ſuch conquered ſtate is, by treaty of peace, or otherwiſe, ceded to the crown of Great Britain, in that inſtant it imbibes the ſpirit of the conſtitution, it is naturalized; it is aſſimilated to the government, it is governable and to be governed by, and under all thoſe powers with which the governing power of king, lords and commons is inveſted by the conſtitution; but it is not governable, neither is to be governed, by any powers which the governing power of king,

*(c)* Mr. Eſtwick.

BOOK III. lords and commons does not poſſeſs from the conſtitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of ſlavery; becauſe the governing power of king, lords and commons is appointed by the conſtitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely it is a propoſition abſurd and monſtrous on the very face of it, to ſay that a limited monarch in a free ſtate, may govern any part of the dominions of ſuch a ſtate in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of ſubjects ſo governed, would, if ſufficiently numerous, be fit inſtruments to enſlave the reſt!

The intelligent reader will admit the vaſt importance of this queſtion, both to the preſent age and to poſterity; and perceive how greatly the deareſt intereſts of men, who, in the contingencies of war, ſhall hereafter fall under the Britiſh dominion, may poſſibly be concerned in its diſcuſſion. To ſuch readers no apology will be neceſſary, for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a ſubject of ſuch conſtitutional magnitude.—I now return to tranſactions with the colony.

It has been ſtated that the firſt aſſembly met in 1765. At that time none of the French Roman catholick inhabitants claimed a right, or even expreſſed a deſire, of becoming members, either of the council or aſſembly: but in 1768 the

the governor received inſtructions from the crown, to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the aſſembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. The governor was directed alſo to include the names of certain perſons of this deſcription, in the commiſſion of the peace. CHAP. II.

THESE inſtructions, and the meaſures which were taken in conſequence thereof, gave riſe to violent commotions and party diviſions in the colony, which, being embittered by religious controverſy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the preſent hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a ſtranger to the iſland) to flatter the paſſions of one party or the other; and I ſhould readily conſign all the circumſtances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an hiſtorian, to ſtate without prejudice ſuch particulars as may, in their conſequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may ſerve as a leſſon to the next.

THE oppoſition that was given by the Britiſh inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman catholick capitulants to ſeats in the legiſlature, aroſe, I believe, originally from an idea that the royal inſtructions in this caſe were in direct violation of the teſt act of Charles II. which requires "that all perſons enjoying any place of truſt or profit ſhall, in addition to the

 oaths

BOOK III. oaths of allegiance and fupremacy, fubfcribe a declaration againft the doctrine of tranfubftantiation in the facrament of the Lord's fupper." By the king's inftructions, above cited, his Roman catholick fubjects of Grenada were declared eligible without fubfcribing to this declaration.

LIBERAL and enlightened minds at this day are not eafily reconciled to the doctrine, that an adherence to mere fpeculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal fubject from the fervice of his country, or deprive a man (otherwife entitled) of the enjoyment of thofe honours and diftinctions, the diftribution of which the wifdom of the laws has affigned to the fovereign. Much lefs will it be thought that fuch a man is unworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are beft acquainted with his principles and virtues, and are themfelves of a different perfuafion, fhall think fit to repofe in him. At the fame time, it muft be acknowledged, that the recent and then depending claim in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by its own authority, gave the inhabitants juft caufe of apprehenfion, that the royal inftructions in the prefent cafe were founded, in like manner, on a pretenfion to legiflative authority, fubverfive of their own colonial affembly.

ON

On the other hand, it was alledged that the teſt act was never meant to extend to the Britiſh plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and ſpirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and ſtatute law of England, it was contended nevertheleſs, that the adoption could extend only to ſuch of the Engliſh ſtatutes as were applicable to the peculiar ſituation of the colony. It was urged, that the act in queſtion originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatick violence. The authority of hiſtory was adduced to prove that it was particularly promoted by a worthleſs individual, from animoſity to the Duke of York, who was obliged, in conſequence of it, to reſign the great office of Lord High Admiral. A law thus founded and ſupported, inſtead of being conſidered as ſuited to the circumſtances of a new and infant colony, ought, it was ſaid, to be expunged from the Engliſh ſtatute book.

What influence theſe, or other conſiderations, had on the Britiſh miniſtry, I preſume not to ſay. It is certain that the king refuſed to revoke his inſtructions; in conſequence whereof the moſt zealous of the proteſtant members of the aſſembly declining to attend, it was ſeldom that a houſe could be formed. Publick affairs ſoon fell

BOOK III.

into the utmoſt confuſion, and in this ſtate of faction and perplexity, the iſland continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

On this occaſion, charges were brought againſt the French inhabitants which I will not repeat, becauſe I have no other evidence to ſupport them than the mutual reproaches, and reciprocal accuſations of the parties. The complaints indeed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an uſurpation of their deareſt rights by the prevailing faction, ſeemed to imply that they relied rather on juſtification than denial.

The French miniſtry however required no other encouragement for attacking this iſland, than the defenceleſs ſtate in which all the Britiſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies were at that juncture notoriouſly left. The hopeleſs and deſtructive war in North America had drawn to its vortex all the powers, reſources, and exertions of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a ſacrifice to that unfortunate conteſt; when it fell to the lot of Grenada to experience her ſhare of the general misfortune.

On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament, conſiſting of a fleet of 25 ſhips of the line, 10 frigates, and 5000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Eſtaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George: the whole force of the iſland was compoſed of 90 men of the

48th

48th regiment, 300 militia of the iſland, and 150 ſeamen from the merchant ſhips; and its fortifications conſiſted chiefly of an entrenchment, which had been haſtily thrown up round the ſummit of the Hoſpital-hill. This entrenchment the Count D'Eſtaing inveſted the next day, at the head of 3000 of his beſt forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loſs of 300 men, carried the lines. Never did ſo ſmall a body of men make a nobler defence againſt ſuch inequality of numbers. The governor (Lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garriſon, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hoſpital-hill battery, the guns of which having been moſt unfortunately left unſpiked, were now turned againſt them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders againſt the walls of the old fort. In this ſituation, the governor and inhabitants had no reſource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were diſappointed. Their propoſals were ſcornfully rejected, and ſuch hard and extraordinary terms offered and inſiſted on by Count D'Eſtaing, as left them no alternative but the ſacrifice of their honour, or an unconditional ſurrender. They embraced the latter; and it muſt be acknowledged

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ledged, that the protection which was afforded to the helplefs inhabitants of the town, and their property, not only while the treaty was depending, but alfo after the furrender of the ifland at difcretion, reflected the higheft luftre on the difcipline, as well as humanity of the conquerors. Protection and fafe-guards were granted on every application, and thus a town was faved from plunder, which by the ftrict rules of war might have been given up to an exafperated foldiery.

It is to be lamented that the fubfequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new fubjects, was not quite fo generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confifcation of property, from the payment, directly or indirectly, of all debts due by them to Britifh fubjects, refiding in any part of the Britifh dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to fuch debts owing to the fubjects of the united provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the fubjects of Great Britain. The Count D'Eftaing had inferted claufes to the fame effect, in the form of capitulation, which he had tendered to the garrifon, and it was thofe prohibitions that induced the Britifh inhabitants with an honeft indignation, to rifque the confequence of an unconditional furrender, rather than fub-

mit

mit to them. With the virtue and integrity that it is to be hoped will for ever diſtinguiſh the Britiſh character, they conſidered no ſacrifice ſo great as the violation of that confidence, which had been repoſed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went ſtill further. By the regulations which they contained, it was enacted that all the eſtates belonging to Engliſh abſentees, ſhould be put into the hands of certain perſons to be nominated by the governor, called *conſervators*; and the produce be paid into the publick treaſury. Thus was plunder ſanctioned by authority; and the abſent proprietors were not the only victims. The ſhameful facility with which every French claimant was put into poſſeſſion of eſtates to which the ſlighteſt pretenſion was ſet up, gave the reſident planters reaſon to apprehend, that the only indulgence they were to expect, was that which Poliphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, *of being devoured the laſt.*

Most of theſe injurious proceedings, and various acts of perſonal oppreſſion, inflicted on the conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, by them, imputed to the too great influence with the governor of their late fellow ſubjects and neighbours, the French planters; and it is much eaſier to account for, than to juſtify their conduct. Let it be remembered, however, to the honour of the

BOOK III.

the French nation, that these nefarious proceedings were no sooner made known to the court of France, than they were disapproved and reprobated. The appointment of conservators was abolished, and restoration ordered to be made of the estates of absent proprietors. Redress was likewise very generally given, by appeals in the last resort, to such of the resident planters as had been illegally deprived of their possessions. But it was not long before the island itself reverted to the British dominion.

Grenada and the Grenadines were restored to Great Britain, with all the other captured islands in the West Indies (Tobago excepted) by the general pacification which took place in January 1783; a pacification upon which, whatever may be its general merits, it is impossible but that the English sugar planters (except perhaps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful satisfaction. It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the present repose and future prosperity of mankind, that some salutary regulations had been framed, at the same time, for preventing the revival of those unhappy national animosities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which, I have so largely spoken, and which I am sorry to be informed, were renewed on the restoration of the island with additional force and aggravated violence. It is

not

not my intention however to enter into any further detail on the ſubject. As a friend to the intereſts of humanity, independent of religious opinions, and locality of birth, I ſhall rejoice if means can be found to reſtore to this little community that peace, confidence and unanimity, without which its inhabitants muſt be a ruined people, and a prey to the firſt invader.

HAVING thus, as I conceive, ſufficiently treated of the hiſtorical and political concerns of this valuable colony, I ſhall conclude with a ſhort diſplay of its preſent ſtate (1791), in reſpect of ſoil, population, productions and exports; premiſing, that many of thoſe little iſlands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. By an arrangement of the Britiſh adminiſtration, which has taken effect ſince the peace, a line of diviſion paſſes in an eaſt and weſt direction, between Cariacou and Union Iſland. The former of theſe, and ſome ſmaller iſlands ſouth of it, are all that are now comprized in the Grenada government; Union iſland, with all the little iſlands adjoining, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

GRENADA is computed to be about twenty-four miles in length and twelve miles in its greateſt breadth, and contains about 80,000 acres of land; of which although no leſs than 72,141 acres

paid

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paid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be ſuppoſed fit for cultivation, yet the quantity actually cultivated has never exceeded 50,000 acres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inacceſſible in any part, and it abounds with ſprings and rivulets. To the north and the eaſt, the ſoil is a brick mould; the ſame or nearly the ſame, as that of which mention has been made in the hiſtory of Jamaica. On the weſt ſide, it is a rich black mould on a ſubſtratum of yellow clay. To the ſouth, the land in general is poor, and of a reddiſh hue, and the ſame extends over a conſiderable part of the interior country. On the whole, however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, and by the variety, as well as excellence, of its returns, ſeems adapted to every tropical production. The exports of the year 1776, from Grenada and its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. of muſcovado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of clayed ſugar; 818,700 gallons of rum; 1,827,166 lbs. of coffee; 457,719 lbs. of cacao; 91,943lbs. of cotton; 27,638 lbs. of indigo, and ſome ſmaller articles; the whole of which, on a moderate computation, could not be worth leſs, at the ports of ſhipping, than £.600,000 ſterling, excluding freight, duties, inſurance and other charges. It deſerves to be remembered too, that the ſugar was the produce of 106 plantations only, and that they were worked by 18,293

K negroes,

negroes, which was therefore rather more than one hogshead of muscovado sugar, of 16 cwt. from the labour of each negro, old and young, employed in the cultivation of that commodity; a prodigious return, equalled, I believe, by no other British island in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted.——The exports of 1787 will be given hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly short of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not wholly how to account *(d)*.

This island is divided into six parishes, St. George, St. David, St Andrew, St. Patrick, St. Mark

*(d)* This circumstance is the more surprizing as the sugar plantations in Grenada, for some years previous to the hurricane in 1780, suffered greatly by the ravages of the *sugar*, or *carnivorous, ant*. Of this wonderful insect a curious account was transmitted to the Royal Society of London, an abridgment of which the reader will find in an appendix to this chapter. I conceive however (notwithstanding what is asserted to the contrary in that account) that this species of ant, is common to all the islands in the West Indies, and has been known in them, in a greater or less degree, from the earliest times. It is the *formica omnivora* of Linnæus, and is well described by Sloane as the *formica fusca minima, antennis longissimis* (vide note in p. 168 of this vol.) Its trivial name in Jamaica, is the *Raffles* ant, from one *Thomas Raffles*, who is charged with having imported them from the Havanna about the year 1762. They do no injury to the sugar canes in Jamaica; probably because their numbers are few. From what causes they encreased so prodigiously in Grenada, no satisfactory account has I believe been given.

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Mark and St. John; and its chief dependency, *Cariacou*, forms a ſeventh pariſh. It is only ſince the reſtoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an iſland law has been obtained for the eſtabliſhment of a proteſtant clergy. This act paſſed in 1784, and provides ſtipends of £.330 currency, and £.60 for houſe-rent *per annum*, for five clergymen, *viz.* one for the town and pariſh of St. George, three for the other five out-pariſhes of Grenada, and one for Cariacou. Beſides theſe ſtipends, there are valuable glebe lands, which had been appropriated to the ſupport of the Roman catholick clergy, whilſt that was the eſtabliſhed religion of Grenada. Theſe lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor-general of England (to whom a queſtion on this point was referred by the crown) became veſted in his majeſty as publick lands, on the reſtoration of the iſland to the Britiſh government, and I believe have ſince been applied by the colonial legiſlature, with the conſent of the crown, to the further ſupport of the proteſtant church, with ſome allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romiſh clergy of the remaining French inhabitants.

THE capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, ſoon after the ceſſion of the country to Great Britain by the peace of Paris, is called

called St. George. By this ordinance, Englifh names were given to the feveral towns and parifhes, and their French names forbidden to be thereafter ufed in any publick acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royal. It is fituated in a fpacious bay, on the weft or lee-fide of the ifland, not far from the fouth end, and poffeffes one of the fafeft and moft commodious harbours for fhipping in the Englifh Weft Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great expence *(c)*. CHAP. II.

THE other towns in Grenada, are, properly fpeaking, inconfiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally fituated at the bays or fhipping places in the feveral out-parifhes. The parifh town of Cariacou is called Hillfborough.

GRENADA has two ports of entry, with feparate eftablifhments, and diftinct revenue officers, independent of each other, *viz.* one at St. George, the capital, and one at Grenville-bay,

*(c)* The town of Saint George is built chiefly of brick, and makes a handfome appearance. It is divided by a ridge, which running into the fea forms on one fide the carenage, on the other the bay: thus there is the *Bay-town*, which boafts a handfome fquare and market-place, and the *Carenage-town*, wherein the principal merchants refide, the fhips lying land-locked, and in deep water clofe to the wharfs. On the ridge between the two towns ftands the church, and on the promontory above it is a large old fort, which was probably conftructed by the firft French inhabitants. It is built of ftone, and is large enough to accommodate an entire regiment.

BOOK III.

a town and harbour on the eaſt or windward ſide of the iſland. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. is made a free port.

WHETHER it be owing to the events of war, to domeſtick diſſentions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreaſed conſiderably ſince theſe iſlands firſt came into poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The number of white inhabitants, in the year 1771, was known to be ſomewhat more than ſixteen hundred; in 1777 they had decreaſed to thirteen hundred; and at this time they are ſuppoſed not to exceed one thouſand two hundred, of which about two-thirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes, attached to each. There are likewiſe about 500 regular troops from Great Britain, which are ſupported on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment *(d)*.

THE negro ſlaves have alſo decreaſed. By the laſt returns preceding the capture of the iſland

*(d)* Beſides the regular troops which are ſent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garriſon three companies of king's negroes, which came from America, where they ſerved in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers, and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

 in

in 1779, they were ftated at 35,000, of which 5,000 were in Cariacou, and the fmaller iflands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decreafe was owing partly to the want of any regular fupply during the French government, and partly to the numbers carried from the ifland by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is alfo to be obferved, that of the African cargoes fold at Grenada, fome part (perhaps a fourth or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanifh colonies.

The free people of colour amounted in 1787, to 1,115. To prevent the too great increafe of this mixed race, every manumiffion is, by an act of this ifland, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the publick treafury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is ufually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumiffion in fome other ifland or government where there is no fuch law. The evidence of all coloured people, of free condition, is received in the courts of this ifland, on their producing fufficient proof of their freedom; and fuch free people are tried on criminal charges in the fame manner as the whites. They are alfo allowed to poffefs and enjoy lands and tenements

 to

BOOK III.

to any amount, provided they are native-born ſubjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

The governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice-admiral, and preſides ſolely in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His ſalary is £. 3,200 currency *per annum (e)*, which is raiſed by a poll-tax on all ſlaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to paſs a ſalary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all caſes of abſence beyond twelve months, the ſalary ceaſes and determines.

The council of Grenada conſiſts of twelve members, and the aſſembly of twenty-ſix. The powers, privileges and functions of both theſe branches of the legiſlature, are the ſame, and exerciſed preciſely in the ſame manner, as thoſe of the council and aſſembly in Jamaica. A freehold, or life eſtate, of fifty acres, is a qualification for a repreſentative for a pariſh, and a freehold, or life eſtate, in fifty pounds houſe-rent in St. George, qualifies a repreſentative for the town. An eſtate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds in any of the out-towns, gives a vote for the repreſentatives of each pariſh reſpectively; and a rent of twenty pounds *per annum*,

*(e)* The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 *per cent.* worſe than ſterling.

iſſuing

iſſuing out of any freehold or life eſtate in the town of St. George, gives a vote for a repreſentative for the town. CHAP. II.

THE law courts in Grenada, beſides thoſe of chancery and ordinary, are, firſt, the court of grand ſeſſions of the peace held twice a year, *viz.* in March and September. In this court the firſt perſon named in the commiſſion of the peace preſides, who is uſually the preſident or ſenior in council.

2dly, THE court of common pleas. The court conſiſts of one chief and four aſſiſtant juſtices, whoſe commiſſions are during pleaſure. The chief juſtice is uſually appointed in England, a profeſſional man, and receives a ſalary of £. 600 *per annum*. The four aſſiſtant juſtices are uſually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the iſland, and act without ſalary.

3dly, THE court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commiſſioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is lately grown into diſuſe.

4thly, THE court of admiralty, for trial of all prize cauſes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue ſeizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one ſurrogate.

LASTLY, The governor and council compoſe a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

 ALTHOUGH

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ALTHOUGH there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it has been always the practice of the courts, to confider both the common and ftatute law of England to extend to Grenada in all applicable cafes, not otherwife provided for by particular laws of the ifland. So in like manner the practice of the courts in Weftminfter-Hall, and authentick reports of adjudged cafes there, are reforted to, when precedents and authorities are wanting in the ifland. In the cafe of its *flave laws*, it may be faid with truth and juftice, that the affembly of this ifland have fhewn a liberality of fentiment which reflects the higheft honour on their characters, both as legiflators and chriftians.

I HAVE now furnifhed the reader with all the information I have collected, concerning the paft hiftory and prefent ftate of the ifland of Grenada,* and if it fhall be thought deficient or uninftructive, the fault is not in the want of materials, but in the workman. Something however remains to be obferved concerning fuch of the Grenadines as are dependent on the Grenada government, the chief of which are Cariacou and Ifle Ronde. The former contains 6,913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well culti-

* This was written in 1791: fince that time Grenada has fuftained a melancholy reverfe of fortune, fome particulars of which will be related in a fubfequent volume.

vated;

vated; producing in seasonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation, besides corn, yams, potatoes, and plantains sufficient for the maintenance of its negroes. The cultivation of sugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations. Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is situated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I SHALL close my account of this colony, as of Barbadoes, with an authentick return by the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the actual value of the several articles at the British market:

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veſſels, their Tonnage, and Men (including the repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Iſland of Grenada, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inſpector General of Great Britain.

| Whither bound. | SHIPPING. | | | SUGAR. | RUM. | MELASSES. | COFFEE. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nº | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Gallons. | Gallons. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. |
| To Great Britain | 65 | 13,276 | 969 | 172,880 – 9 | 102,590 | — | 8,550 2 4 |
| Ireland — — | 7 | 771 | 59 | 1,248 – — | 86,100 | — | — |
| American States | 47 | 6,373 | 410 | 290 – — | 272,080 | — | 44 – – |
| Britiſh American Colonies | 30 | 2,610 | 194 | 1,130 – — | 209,620 | 4,300 | 218 – – |
| Foreign Weſt Indies - - | 39 | 2,734 | 192 | — | — | — | — |
| | 188 | 25,764 | 1,824 | 175,548 – 9 | 670,390 | 4,300 | 8,812 2 4 |

* *Continued.*

| Whither bound. | CACAO. | COTTON. | INDIGO. | Value of Miſcellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c. | Total Value according to the current Prices in London. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | lbs. | lbs. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| To Great Britain | 2,645 1 2 | 2,030,177 | 1,560 | 64,439 — 3 | 555,222 11 6 |
| Ireland - - - | 19 2 16 | 32,250 | 1,250 | 24 10 — | 13,580 4 5 |
| American States | 36 — — | — | — | 27 4 — | 24,597 4 — |
| Britiſh American Colonies | 16 — — | — | — | 15 6 — | 21,469 9 4 |
| Foreign Weſt Indies - - | — | — | — | 39 — — | 39 — — |
| | 2,716 3 18 | 2,062,427 | 2,810 | 64,545 — 3 | 614,908 9 3 |

## *POSTSCRIPT to the HISTORY of GRENADA.*

The firſt edition of this work having fallen into the hands of a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities and learning (one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law) he was pleaſed, at the author's requeſt, to communicate his thoughts in writing on the doctrine maintained by Lord Mansfield, concerning the legal authority of the crown over conquered countries, as ſtated in page 365 of this volume, which I have great pleaſure in preſenting to the reader in the preciſe words in which they were given:

Poſtſcript. CHAP. II.

THE ground upon which the court reſted their judgment in the caſe of Grenada, was clearly ſufficient to warrant that judgment, even admitting the doctrine laid down by Lord Mansfield on the other point to be well founded; but nothing can be more unfounded than that doctrine:—every propoſition upon which it is made to reſt is a fallacy. I deny that the king (at leaſt ſince the conſtitution has had its preſent form) can "*arbitrarily* grant or refuſe a capitulation." The power of

Poftfcript. BOOK III.

of granting or refufing a capitulation, in the cafe of a fiege or invafion, is certainly vefted in him; but it is vefted in him like every other power with which he is entrufted by the Britifh conftitution, to be exercifed according to the ufage which has prevailed in like cafes. If that power fhould be abufed, his officers and minifters muft anfwer to the publick for their mifconduct.

For the fame reafon I deny that "the king can put the inhabitants of a conquered country to the fword, or otherwife exterminate them," unlefs fuch feverity be fully juftified by the laws of war, as they are underftood amongft civilized nations.

But, fuppofing that a cafe fhould happen wherein fuch feverity would be juftifiable, I deny that, upon the extermination of the enemy, the lands would belong to the king himfelf: I fay they would belong to the ftate; and that they would be fubject, not merely to the king, but to the fovereign power which governs the Britifh dominions. If the king receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, I deny that he has power to fix fuch terms and conditions as he thinks proper; for he cannot referve to himfelf, in his individual capacity, legiflative power over them: that would be to exclude the authority of the Britifh legiflature from the government of a country fubdued by

Britifh

Britiſh forces, and would be an attempt to erect *imperium in imperio.* One conſequence of this would be, that ſuch conquered territory might deſcend to an heir of the king not qualified according to the act of ſettlement, to ſucceed to the crown of Great Britain. The king might give it to a younger ſon, or beſtow it on a ſtranger. A thouſand other abſurd conſequences might be pointed out, as reſulting from ſuch incongruity.

I ADMIT that the king (ſubject to the reſponſibility of his miniſters) may yield up a conqueſt, or retain it, as he ſees beſt: but I deny, for the reaſons above hinted at, that he can impoſe what terms he pleaſes, or that he can arbitrarily change the law or political form of its government. I think he may agree, upon the capitulation, that the conquered people ſhall continue to enjoy their ancient religion and laws, and even this muſt be *ſub modo*; but I deny that he could, by his own authority, grant theſe things after the capitulation; for that would amount to an exerciſe of independant ſovereignty. The fallacy of Lord Mansfield's argument, proceeds from an endeavour to confound the king's civil and military characters, and to perpetuate in the chief executive magiſtrate, the vaſt powers with which it is neceſſary to inveſt the generaliſſimo of the armies, during the continuance of military operations. The moment theſe operations ceaſe, he

reſumes

reſumes his civil character, and in that character no man will venture to aſſert that, as king of Great Britain, he has the prerogative of being a deſpot in any part of his dominions.

WITH reſpect to the caſes of Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, even taking them preciſely as Lord Mansfield puts them, I think they do not weigh a feather in the argument. Thoſe caſes happened long before the Engliſh conſtitution had reduced itſelf to its preſent form, conſequently, before the rights of the people were aſcertained and defined as they exiſt at preſent. If a few inſtances of the exerciſe of arbitrary power by the ancient kings of England, are to be received as deciſive caſes, to ſhew what are the powers of the crown at this day, I think it would be no very difficult taſk to find authorities, even as low down as the reigns of the Plantagenets and Stuarts, to prove that the Britiſh government ought to be a pure deſpotiſm!

# APPENDIX

TO

## CHAP. II. OF BOOK II.

CONTAINING

*Obſervations on the Sugar Ants in the Iſland of Grenada; extracted from a Letter of John Caſtles, Eſq. to General Melville: read before the Royal Society in May* 1790.

THE Sugar Ants, ſo called from their ruinous effects on ſugar cane, are ſuppoſed to have firſt made their appearance in Grenada about the year 1770, on a ſugar plantation at Petit Havre; a bay five or ſix miles from the town of St. George, the capital, conveniently ſituated for ſmuggling from Martinico: it was therefore concluded, they were brought from thence in ſome veſſel employed in that trade, which is very probable, as colonies of them in like manner were afterwards propagated in different parts of the iſland by droghers, or veſſels employed in carrying ſtores, &c. from one part of the iſland to another. CHAP. II.

FROM thence they continued to extend themſelves on all ſides for ſeveral years; deſtroying in ſucceſſion every ſugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a ſpace of about twelve miles. At the ſame time, colonies of them began to be obſerved in different parts of the iſland, particularly at Duqueſne on the north, and Calavini on the ſouth ſide of it.

ALL attempts of the planters to put a ſtop to the ravages

APPENDIX. ravages of theſe inſects having been found ineffectual, it well became the legiſlature to offer great publick rewards to any perſon who ſhould diſcover a practicable method of deſtroying them, ſo as to permit the cultivation of the ſugar cane as formerly. Accordingly, an act of aſſembly was paſſed, by which ſuch diſcoverer was entitled to twenty thouſand pounds, to be paid from the publick treaſury of the iſland.

MANY were the candidates on this occaſion, but very far were any of them from having any juſt claim: nevertheleſs, conſiderable ſums of money were granted, in conſideration of trouble and expences in making experiments, &c.

IN Grenada there had always been ſeveral ſpecies of ants, differing in ſize, colour, &c. which however were perfectly innocent with reſpect to the ſugar-cane. The ants in queſtion, on the contrary, were not only highly injurious to it, but to ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as the lime, lemon, orange, &c.

THESE ants are of the middle ſize, of a ſlender make, of a dark red colour, and remarkable for the quickneſs of their motions; but their greateſt peculiarities are, their taſte when applied to the tongue, the immenſity of their number, and their choice of places for their neſts.

ALL the other ſpecies of ants in Grenada have a bitter muſky taſte. Theſe, on the contrary, are acid in the higheſt degree, and when a number of them were rubbed together between the palms of the hands, they emitted a ſtrong vitriolick ſulphureous ſmell; ſo much ſo, that, when this experiment was made, a gentleman conceived that it might be owing to this quality that theſe inſects were ſo unfriendly to vegetation. This criterion to diſtinguiſh them was infallible, and known to every one.

THEIR

THEIR numbers were incredible. I have ſeen the roads coloured by them for miles together; and ſo crowded were they in many places, that the print of the horſes feet would appear for a moment or two, until filled up by the ſurrounding multitude. This is no exaggeration. All the other ſpecies of ants, although numerous, were circumſcribed and confined to a ſmall ſpot, in proportion to the ſpace occupied by the cane ants, as a mole hill to a mountain.

THE common black ants of that country had their neſts about the foundation of houſes or old walls; others in hollow trees; and a large ſpecies in the paſtures, deſcending by a ſmall aperture under ground. The ſugar ants, I believe, univerſally conſtructed their neſts among the roots of particular plants and trees, ſuch as the ſugar-cane, lime, lemon, and orange trees, &c.

THE deſtruction of theſe ants was attempted chiefly two ways; by poiſon, and the application of fire.

FOR the firſt purpoſe, arſenick and corroſive ſublimate mixed with animal ſubſtances, ſuch as ſalt fiſh, herrings, crabs, and other ſhell fiſh, &c. were uſed, which was greedily devoured by them. Myriads of them were thus deſtroyed; and the more ſo, as it was obſerved by a magnifying glaſs, and indeed (though not ſo diſtinctly) by the naked eye, that corroſive ſublimate had the effect of rendering them ſo outrageous that they deſtroyed each other; and that effect was produced even by coming into contact with it. But it is clear, and it was found, that theſe poiſons could not be laid in ſufficient quantities over ſo large a tract of land as to give the hundred thouſandth part of them a taſte.

THE uſe of fire afforded a greater probability of ſucceſs; for (from whatever cauſe) it was obſerved, that if wood,

APPEN-DIX.

wood, burnt to the ſtate of charcoal, without flame, and immediately taken from the fire, was laid in their way, they crowded to it in ſuch amazing numbers as ſoon to extinguiſh it, although with the deſtruction of thouſands of them in effecting it. This part of their hiſtory appears ſcarcely credible; but, on making the experiment myſelf, I found it literally true. I laid fire, as above deſcribed, where there appeared but very few ants, and in the courſe of a few minutes thouſands were ſeen crowding to it and upon it, till it was perfectly covered by their dead bodies. Holes were therefore dug at proper diſtances in a cane piece, and fire made in each hole. Prodigious quantities periſhed in this way; for thoſe fires, when extinguiſhed, appeared in the ſhape of mole hills, from the numbers of their dead bodies heaped on them. Neverthelefs the ants ſoon appeared again, as numerous as ever. This may be accounted for, not only from their amazing fecundity, but that probably none of the breeding ants or young brood ſuffered from the experiment.

For the ſame reaſon, the momentary general applicataion of fire by burning the cane traſh (or ſtraw of the cane) as it lay on the ground, proved as little effectual; for although, perhaps, multitudes of ants might have been deſtroyed, yet in general they would eſcape by retiring to their neſts under cover, out of its reach, and the breeding ants, with their young progeny, muſt have remained unhurt.

This calamity, which reſiſted ſo long the efforts of the planters, was at length removed by another; which, however ruinous to the other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and in other reſpects, was to Grenada a very great bleſſing; namely, the hurricane in 1780; without which it

is probable, the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the moſt valuable parts of that iſland muſt have in a great meaſure been thrown aſide, at leaſt for ſome years. How this hurricane produced this effect, has been conſidered rather as a matter of wonder and ſurprize than attempted to be explained. By attending to the following obſervations, the difficulty, I believe, will be removed. CHAP. II.

THESE ants make their neſts, or cells for the reception of their eggs, only under or among the roots of ſuch trees or plants as are not only capable of protecting them from heavy rains, but are at the ſame time ſo firm in the ground as to afford a ſecure baſis to ſupport them againſt any injury occaſioned by the agitation of the uſual winds. This double qualification the ſugar-cane poſſeſſes in a very great degree; for a ſtool of canes (which is the aſſemblage of its numerous roots where the ſtems begin to ſhoot out) is almoſt impenetrable to rain, and is alſo, from the amazing numbers and extenſion of the roots, firmly fixed to the ground. Thus, when every other part of the field is drenched with rain, the ground under thoſe ſtools will be found quite dry, as I and every other planter muſt have obſerved when digging out the ſtools in a cane piece, to prepare for replanting. And when canes are lodged or laid down by the uſual winds, or fall down by their own luxuriancy, the ſtools commonly remain in the ground; hence, in ordinary weather, the neſts of theſe ants are in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity.

THE lime, lemon, orange, and ſome other trees, afford theſe inſects the ſame advantages from the great number and quality of their roots, which are firmly fixed to the earth, and are very large; beſides which, their tops are ſo very thick and umbrageous as to prevent even a very heavy rain from reaching the ground underneath.

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On the contrary, theſe ants' neſts are never found at the roots of trees or plants incapable of affording the above protection; ſuch for inſtance as the coffee tree: it is indeed ſufficiently firm in the ground, but it has only one large tap root, which goes ſtraight downwards; and its lateral roots are ſo ſmall as to afford no ſhelter againſt rain. So again, the roots of the cotton ſhrub run too near the ſurface of the earth to prevent the acceſs of rain, and are neither ſufficiently permanent, nor firm enough to reſiſt the agitation by the uſual winds. The ſame obſervation will be found true with reſpect to cacao, plantains, maize, tobacco, indigo, and many other ſpecies of trees and plants.

Trees or plants of the firſt deſcription always ſuffer more or leſs in lands infeſted with theſe ants; whereas thoſe of the latter never do. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the miſchief done by theſe inſects is occaſioned only by their lodging and making their neſts about the roots of particular trees or plants. Thus the roots of the ſugar-canes are ſomehow or other ſo much injured by them, as to be incapable of performing their office of ſupplying due nouriſhment to the plants, which, therefore, become ſickly and ſtinted, and conſequently do not afford juices fit for making ſugar in either tolerable quantity or quality.

That theſe ants do not feed on any part of the canes or trees affected ſeems very clear, for no loſs of ſubſtance in either the one or the other has ever been obſerved; nor have they ever been ſeen carrying off vegetable ſubſtances of any ſort.

On the contrary, there is the greateſt preſumption that theſe ants are carnivorous, and feed entirely on animal ſubſtances; for if a dead inſect, or animal food of any ſort,

8 was

was laid in their way, it was immediately carried off. It was found almoſt impoſſible to preſerve cold victuals from them. The largeſt carcaſſes, as ſoon as they began to become putrid, ſo as that they could ſeparate the parts, ſoon diſappeared. Negroes with ſores had difficulty to keep the ants from the edges of them. They deſtroyed all other vermin, rats in particular, of which they cleared every plantation they came upon, which they probably effected by attacking their young. It was found that poultry, or other ſmall ſtock, could be raiſed with the greateſt difficulty; and the eyes, noſe, and other emunctories of the bodies of dying or dead animals were inſtantly covered with theſe ants.



FROM what has been ſaid it appears, that a dry ſituation, ſo as to exclude the ordinary rains from their neſts or cells, appropriated for the reception of their eggs or young brood, is abſolutely neceſſary; but that theſe ſituations, however well calculated for the uſual weather, could not afford this protection from rain during the hurricane, may be eaſily conceived.

WHEN by the violence of the tempeſt heavy pieces of artillery were removed from their places, and houſes and ſugar works levelled with the ground, there can be no doubt that trees, and every thing growing above ground, muſt have greatly ſuffered. This was the caſe. Great numbers of trees and plants (which commonly reſiſt the ordinary winds) were torn out by the root. The canes were univerſally either lodged or twiſted about as if by a whirlwind, or torn out of the ground altogether. In the latter caſe, the breeding ants, with their progeny, muſt have been expoſed to inevitable deſtruction from the deluge of rain which fell at the ſame time. The number

APPENDIX. of canes, however, thus torn out of the ground, could not have been adequate to the ſudden diminution of the ſugar ants; but it is eaſy to conceive that the roots of canes, which remained on the ground, and the earth about them, were ſo agitated and ſhaken, and at the ſame time the ants' neſts were ſo broken open or injured by the violence of the wind, as to admit the torrents of rain accompanying it. I apprehend, therefore, that the principal deſtruction of theſe ants muſt have been thus effected.

It muſt not however be denied, that though nature for a time may permit a particular ſpecies of animal to become ſo diſproportionably numerous as to endanger ſome other parts of her works, ſhe herſelf will in due time put a check upon the too great increaſe; and that is often done by an increaſe of ſome other animal inimical to the former deſtroyers. In the preſent caſe, however, nothing of that ſort appeared; therefore, when a plain natural cauſe, obvious to our ſenſes, occurred, by which we can account for the amazing and ſudden decreaſe of thoſe ruinous inſects, it is unneceſſary to recur to other poſſible cauſes too minute for our inveſtigation.

All I have ſaid on this ſubject would certainly be of little or no conſequence, did it not lead to the true method of cultivating the ſugar-cane on lands infeſted with thoſe deſtructive inſects; in which point of view, however, it becomes important.

If then the above doctrine be juſt, it follows that the whole of our attention muſt be turned to the deſtruction of the neſts of theſe ants, and conſequently the breeding ants with their eggs or young brood.

In order to effect this, all trees and fences, under the roots of which theſe ants commonly take their reſidence, ſhould

ſhould firſt be grubbed out; particularly lime or lemon fences, which are very common in Grenada, and which generally ſuffered from the ants before the canes appeared in the leaſt injured; after which the canes ſhould be ſtumped out with care, and the ſtools burnt as ſoon as poſſible, together with the field traſh (or the dried leaves and tops of the canes) in order to prevent the ants from making their eſcape to new quarters. The beſt way of doing this, I apprehend, will be to gather the field traſh together in conſiderable heaps, and to throw the ſtools as ſoon as dug out of the ground into them, and immediately apply fire. By this means multitudes muſt be deſtroyed; for the field traſh, when dry, burns with great rapidity. The land ſhould then be ploughed or hoe-ploughed twice (but at leaſt once) in the wetteſt ſeaſon of the year, in order to admit the rains, before it is hoed for planting the cane; by theſe means theſe inſects, I apprehend, will be ſo much reduced in number as at leaſt to ſecure a good plant cane.

But it is the cuſtom in moſt of the Weſt India iſlands to permit the canes to ratoon; that is, after the canes have once been cut down for the purpoſe of making ſugar, they are ſuffered to grow up again without replanting; and this generally for three or four years, but ſometimes for ten, fifteen, or twenty. In this mode of culture the ſtools become larger every year, ſo as to grow out of the ground to a conſiderable height, and by that means afford more and more ſhelter to the ants' neſts; therefore for two or three ſucceſſive crops the canes ſhould be replanted yearly, ſo as not only to afford as little cover as poſſible for the ants' neſts, but continually to diſturb ſuch ants as may have eſcaped, in the buſineſs of propagating their ſpecies.

 THAT

APPENDIX.

THAT confiderable expence and labour will attend putting this method into execution there is no doubt. An expenfive cure, however, is better than none; but from the general principles of agriculture, I am of opinion that the planter will be amply repaid for his trouble by the goodnefs of his crops, in confequence of the fuperior tilth the land will receive in the propofed method.

T. Milton sculp.

A FAMILY of CHARAIBES, drawn from the Life, in the ISLAND of St. VINCENT.

From an Original Painting, by Agostino Brunyas, in the possession of Sir William Young Bart. F. R. S.

Publish'd Nov. 18. 1794. by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

# CHAP. III.

## St. VINCENT and its DEPENDENCIES,

AND

## DOMINICA.

THE civil hiſtory of theſe iſlands may be comprifed in a narrow compaſs; for the ſovereignty of them having been long an object of diſpute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful poſſeſſors, the Charaibes, derived that ſecurity from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their juſtice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other iſlands, in the Earl of Carliſle's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the Engliſh dominion. Theſe attempts the French conſtantly oppoſed, with deſign, it was urged, ſecretly and ſurreptitiouſly to occupy the CHAP. III.

 Iſlands

BOOK III. Iſlands themſelves; and their conduct towards the Charaibes on other occaſions ſeems to juſtify the ſuggeſtion,

But, whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themſelves with ſuch effect, that the Engliſh were compelled to relinquiſh all hopes of obtaining theſe iſlands by force;—for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748) St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (ſuch as remained of them) were at length left in unmoleſted poſſeſſion.

The diſputes and hoſtilities which theſe attempts of the Engliſh on the one hand, and reſiſtance of the French on the other, gave riſe to in this part of the world, are no longer intereſting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance. The depravity and injuſtice of mankind are at all times ſubjects of unpleaſing ſpeculation; but the ſubſequent conduct of both nations, reſpecting the Iſlands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked, even if hiſtorical preciſion did not, as in the preſent caſe it does, require me to relate the circumſtances attending it.

The treaty of neutrality was no ſooner concluded, than both Engliſh and French appeared diſſatisfied with the arrangement which they had made. The latter ſeem not to have conſidered

until

until it was too late, that by reftricting the Englifh from the occupancy of thofe countries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themfelves at the fame time. The Englifh, on the other hand, difcovered that, by acceding to the compromife, they had given up St. Lucia, an Ifland worth all the reft, and to which it muft be owned we had fome colourable pretenfions, founded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibean inhabitants in 1664, fix hundred of whom attended an armament that was fent thither by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the Englifh publickly and formally into poffeffion.

Both nations being thus alike diffatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be fuppofed, that on the conclufion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different ftipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded fcruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the Englifh in dividing the fpoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, figned the 10th of February 1763, the three iflands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were affigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual fovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole tranfaction, as if no fuch people exifted.

They were in truth reduced to a miferable remnant.—

BOOK III.

remnant.—Of the ancient, or, as they were called by the Engliſh, *Red* Charaibes, not more than a hundred families ſurvived in 1763, and of all their ancient and extenſive poſſeſſions, theſe poor people retained only a mountainous diſtrict in the Iſland of St. Vincent. Of this Iſland and its dependencies I ſhall now treat, reſerving Dominica for a ſeparate ſection.

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## SECTION I.

## ST. VINCENT.

"THE Spaniards (ſays Doctor Campbell) "beſtowed the name of St. Vincent upon this "Iſland, becauſe they diſcovered it upon the "22d of January, which in their calendar is St. "Vincent's day, but it does not appear that they "were ever, properly ſpeaking, in poſſeſſion of "it; the Indians being very numerous here, on "account of its being the rendezvous of their "expeditions to the continent." Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural ſtrength of the country, exempted them from hoſtility. What avarice had in vain attempted,

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accident accompliſhed, by procuring an eſtabliſhment among them for a race of people, whom, though at firſt beheld by the native Charaibes with contempt or pity, they have ſince found formidable rivals and merciless conquerors. Theſe people have been long diſtinguiſhed, however improperly, by the name of *Black* Charaibes.

Of the origin of theſe intruders, and their ancient connection with the native Charaibes, the beſt account that I have been able to find is in a ſmall treatiſe of the author above quoted (Doctor Campbell) entitled "Candid and impartial conſiderations on the nature of the Sugar-trade," which being equally authentick and curious, I ſhall preſent to my readers entire; and with the leſs ſcruple, becauſe it conſiſts chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without injury.

"In 1672, King Charles thought fit to divide theſe governments, and by a new commiſſion appointed Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed Governor of the other Leeward Iſles, and this ſeparation has ſubſiſted ever ſince, the ſame Iſlands being conſtantly inſerted in every new Governor's patent. On the demiſe of Lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and the reſt of theſe Iſlands, and ſo continued till 1680, when he was ſucceeded by Sir Richard Dutton,

BOOK III. Dutton, who being ſent for to England in 1685, appointed Colonel Edwin Stede Lieutenant Governor, who vigorouſly aſſerted our rights by appointing Deputy Governors for the other Iſlands; and particularly ſent Captain Temple hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permiſſion, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former Governors; perſiſting ſteadily in this conduct, till it was ſignified to him, as we have had occaſion to remark before, that the king had ſigned an act of neutrality, and that commiſſioners were appointed by the two courts, to ſettle all differences relative to theſe Iſlands.

"SOME years after, a ſhip from Guinea, with a large cargo of ſlaves, was either wrecked or run on ſhore upon the Iſland of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes eſcaped *(a)*. Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the In-

*(a)* I am informed by Sir William Young, who is perfectly well acquainted with theſe people, that they were originally a race of *Mocoes*, a tribe or nation from the Bight of Benin. They were wrecked on the coaſt of Bequin, a ſmall iſland about two leagues from St. Vincent, in the year 1675, and were afterwards joined by great numbers of fugitive negroes from the other iſlands. The Red Charaibes firſt kept them in ſlavery; but finding their numbers encreaſe, came to a reſolution to put to death all their male children; upon which the blacks roſe on their maſters, who by degrees have almoſt all periſhed in the conteſt.

dians

dians ſuffered them to remain, and partly by the acceſſion of runaway ſlaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, they became very numerous; ſo that about the beginning of the current century they conſtrained the Indians to retire into the north-weſt part of the iſland. Theſe people, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, were much diſſatisfied with this treatment; and complained of it occaſionally both to the Engliſh and to the French, that came to wood and water amongſt them. The latter at length ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon to attack theſe invaders, in the cauſe of their old allies; and from a perſuaſion that they ſhould find more difficulty in dealing with theſe Negroes, in caſe they were ſuffered to ſtrengthen themſelves, than with the Indians. After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a conſiderable force from Martinico, and landing without much oppoſition, began to burn the Negro huts and deſtroy their plantations, ſuppoſing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains, which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to ſubmit and become ſlaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the Negroes ſallying in the night, and retreating in the day to places inacceſſible to the whites, de-

ſtroyed

BOOK III. ſtroyed ſo many of the French, (amongſt whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique, who commanded them) that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourſe to fair means, and by dint of perſuaſions and preſents, patched up a peace with the Negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage.

"THINGS were in this ſituation when Captain Uring came with a conſiderable armament to take poſſeſſion of St. Lucia and this Iſland, in virtue of a grant from our late ſovereign King George I. to the late Duke of Montague. When the French had diſlodged this gentleman, by a ſuperior force from St. Lucia, he ſent Captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at the Iſland of St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more ſucceſsful, as will beſt appear from that gentleman's report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains ſeveral curious circumſtances relative to the country, and to the two independent nations who then inhabited it, belongs properly to this ſubject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring's memoirs that this tranſaction happened in the ſpring of the year 1723."

"THE

## "THE REPORT.

"In purſuance of a reſolution in council, and "your order for ſo doing, the day you ſailed "with his Grace's colony for Antego, I ſailed "with the Griffin ſloop, in company with his "Majeſty's ſhip the Winchelſea, to St. Vincent. "We made the iſland that night, and next "morning run along ſhore, and ſaw ſeveral In-"dian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to "us, nor could we get aſhore to them, by reaſon "there was no ground to anchor in. Towards "the evening, two Indians came on board, and "told us, we might anchor in a bay to leeward, "and when we were at anchor they would bring "their General on board. Here we came to an "anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for "the ſloop. One, whom they call General, "came on board, with ſeveral others, to the "number of twenty-two. I entertained them "very handſomely, and made the Chief ſome "trifling preſents, but found he was a perſon of "no conſequence, and that they called him *Chief* "to get ſome preſent from me. Here two of "the Indians were ſo drunk they would not "go aſhore, but ſtaid on board ſome days, and "were well entertained. After this, little winds "and great currents drove us off for ſeveral days;

"but

" but at laſt, we came to an anchor in a ſpacious " bay, to leeward of all the iſland, the draught " of which I ordered to be taken by our ſurveyor, " for your better underſtanding the place, being " the only one where a ſettlement could be made. " The ſhip and ſloop were ſcarce come to an- " chor, before the ſtrand of the ſhore was cover- " ed with Indians, and among them we could " diſcover a white, who proved to be a French- " man. I took Captain Watſon in the boat with " me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went " aſhore. As ſoon as I came amongſt them, I " aſked them, why they appeared all armed? " For every man had cutlaſſes, ſome had muſ- " quets, piſtols, bows and arrows, &c. They " with very little ceremony incloſed me, and " carried me up the country about a mile, over " a little rivulet, where I was told I was to ſee " their General. I found him ſitting amidſt a " guard of about a hundred Indians, thoſe neareſt " his perſon had muſquets, the reſt bows and " arrows, and great ſilence. He ordered me a " ſeat, and a Frenchman ſtood at his right hand, " for an interpreter: he demanded of me, what " brought me into his country, and of what na- " tion? I told him Engliſh, and I was put in to " wood and water, as not caring to ſay any thing " elſe before the Frenchman; but told him if he " would be pleaſed to come on board our ſhips,

" I would

CHAP. III.

" I would leave Englishmen in hostage for him " and those he should be pleased to bring with " him; but I could not prevail with him either " to come on board, or suffer me to have wood " and water. He said he was informed we were " come to force a settlement, and we had no other " way to remove that jealousy but to get under " sail. As soon as I found what influence the " Frenchman's company had upon them, I took " my leave, after making such replies as I thought " proper, and returned to my boat under a guard. " When I came to the shore, I found the guard " there were increased by a number of Negroes, " all armed with fuzees. I got in my boat, with- " out any injury, and went on board to Captain " Orme, and told him my ill success.

" IMMEDIATELY after, I sent on shore the " ship's boat with a mate, with rum, beef and " bread, &c. with some cutlasses, and ordered a " Frenchman who went with the mate, to desire " the guard to conduct them to their General, " and to tell him, that though he denied me the " common good of water and a little useless " wood, nevertheless I had sent him such refresh- " ments as our ships afforded. Our people found " the Frenchman gone, and that then the In- " dian General seemed pleased, and received what " was sent him, and in return sent me bows and " arrows."

BOOK III.

"Our people had not been long returned "before their General ſent a canoe, with two "chief Indians, who ſpoke very good French, to "thank me for my preſents, and to aſk pardon "for his refuſing me wood and water, and aſſured "me I might have what I pleaſed; and they had "orders to tell me, if I pleaſed to go aſhore "again, they were to remain hoſtages for my "civil treatment. I ſent them on board the man "of war, and with Captain Watſon went on "ſhore. I was well received, and conducted as "before. But now I found the brother of the "chief of the Negroes was arrived, with five "hundred Negroes, moſt armed with fuzees. "They told my interpreter they were aſſured "we were come to force a ſettlement, or elſe they "would not have denied me what they never "before denied any Engliſh, *viz.* wood and "water: But, if I pleaſed, I might take in what "I wanted under a guard. Finding them in ſo "good a humour, I once more introduced the "deſire I had to entertain them on board our "ſhips, and with ſome difficulty prevailed with "them, by leaving Captain Watſon on ſhore "under their guard as a hoſtage. I carried them "on board the King's ſhip, where they were well "entertained by Captain Orme, who gave the "Indian General a fine fuzee of his own, and "to the Chief of the Negroes ſomething that

" pleafed him. Captain Orme affured him of " the friendfhip of the King of England, &c. " The Negroe Chief fpoke excellent French, and " gave anfwers with the French compliments. " Afterwards I carried them on board the Duke's " floop, and after opening their hearts with wine, " for they fcorned to drink rum, I thought it a " good time to tell them my commiffion, and " what brought me on their coaft. They told " me it was well I had not mentioned it afhore, " for their power could not have protected me; " that it was impoffible; the Dutch had before " attempted it, but were glad to retire. They " likewife told me, two French floops had, the " day before we came, been amongft them, gave " them arms and ammunition, and affured them " of the whole force of Martinico for their pro- " tection againft us. They told them alfo, that " they had drove us from St. Lucia, and that now " we were come to endeavour to force a fettlement " there; and, notwithftanding all our fpecious " pretences, when we had power, we fhould enflave " them; but declared they would truft no Euro- " peans; that they owned themfelves under the " protection of the French, but would as foon " oppofe their fettling amongft them, or any act " of force from them, as us, as they had lately " given an example, by killing feveral; and they " further told me, it was by very large prefents

BOOK III.

"the French ever got in their favour again; but "they resolved never to put it in the power of "any European to hurt them. They advised "me to think what they said was an act of friend-"ship. This being all I could get from them, "I dismissed them with such presents as his "Grace ordered for that service, with a discharge "of cannon, and received in return as regular "vollies of small shot as I ever heard. In the "night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors, "which as soon as I perceived, and had received "Captain Watson from the shore, I got under "sail, and stood to the man of war."

SUCH is the history of a very weak and fruitless attempt which was made, under the authority of the British government, to obtain possession of this island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years succeeds, in which I find no occurrence in its history that deserves recital. The country continued to be a theatre of savage hostilities between the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved so in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at two thousand; whereas of the red or native Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already been observed) more than one hundred families, and most of these, if I am rightly informed, are by this time exterminated. It is however worthy of remark,

remark, that the African intruders have adopted most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and perhaps it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the appellation of the black Charaibes. CHAP. III.

The first measure of the English government in respect to this island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands—I dare not say to the best advantage; for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-fourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously assigned over to two individuals *(a)*. The remainder was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the publick, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction for the sum of £. 162,854. 11 *s.* 7 *d.* sterling *(b)*. As nearly

*(a)* Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and General Monckton four thousand; but from the disputes which afterwards arose with the Charaibes, I believe they did not derive all the benefit from those grants which they expected.

*(b)* The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be sold, which was £. 5 sterling *per* acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood, and the principal conditions of sale were these, "that every purchaser should pay down twenty *per cent.* of the whole purchase money, together with six-pence sterling *per* acre, for the expence of surveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase money should be secured by bonds;

BOOK III.

nearly one half the country was judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, theſe grants and ſales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the iſland to the other. The commiſſioners indeed were directed not to ſurvey or diſpoſe of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they ſhould receive further inſtructions from the crown; but as it was impoſſible to aſcertain how far the claims of theſe people extended, the ſurvey alone was poſtponed, and the ſales were ſuffered to proceed, to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the ſeveral purchaſers, that the Britiſh government would ratify the acts of its commiſſioners, and put them into poſſeſſion of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes; which in truth the purchaſers ſeem to have conſidered as of no conſequence or validity.

Of the meaſures which the Britiſh miniſters afterwards adopted with regard to theſe people,

bonds; to be paid by equal inſtalments in the ſpace of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaſer ſhould keep on the lands ſo by him purchaſed, one white man, or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpoſe of cultivating the ſame; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchaſe money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown." Some of the lands ſold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds ſterling *per* acre.

I have

I have ſpoken in the former editions of this work harſhly and incorrectly; and I feel no diſgrace in retracting involuntary error. The repreſentation which I gave, had however the good effect of calling forth an hiſtorical account of thoſe meaſures from my moſt reſpectable friend Sir William Young, Bart. founded on official papers and original documents in his poſſeſſion, and drawn up with all that candour and perſpicuity which were to have been expected from its author's diſtinguiſhed character and talents. CHAP. III.

As the ſubject is no longer intereſting to the publick, I need only obſerve, that if the claim of the Britiſh crown to the ſovereignty of this country was originally juſt and valid, then I do readily acknowledge that the meaſures purſued by the Britiſh adminiſtration to enforce that claim, were as lenient and conſiderate as the caſe could poſſibly allow; and I was miſinformed when I gave a different repreſentation. Nevertheleſs, I will not ſacrifice, even on the ſhrine of friendſhip, the dignity of hiſtorical narration, by aſſerting that my friend has entirely convinced me that the pretenſions of Great Britain were originally founded on any other plea than that of political expediency.—I am here ſpeaking of the Britiſh claim, *as againſt the actual poſſeſſors of the country, the black Charaibes.* This claim, no ceſſion or abandonment on the part of France could have

BOOK III.

ſtrengthened; inaſmuch as Great Britain herſelf conſtantly diſputed the pretenſions of that Crown to the neutral iſlands; St. Vincent among the reſt. The Charaibes themſelves, as the report above quoted demonſtrates, and as my friend admits, uniformly and abſolutely denied any right in any of the ſovereigns of Europe to their allegiance. They averred that they knew no king, and would acknowledge none. They ſaid "they had originally been landed on the iſland by ſhipwreck, and held it not only by right of conqueſt over the aborigines, but alſo by actual poſſeſſion for near a century." Such was their title to St. Vincent's, and it would have been difficult, I think, for any nation in Europe to produce a better.

HAPPILY, by the temperate councils and the humane interpoſition of the civil commiſſioners employed by government to diſpoſe of the lands, the conteſt with theſe people (not however until hoſtilities had been commenced and many lives ſacrificed) was at length finally compromiſed and adjuſted, to the ſatisfaction, as it was then hoped, of the contending parties. A treaty of peace and friendſhip was concluded with them on the 27th February 1773; the articles of which I have ſubjoined in an appendix to this chapter.

BY this treaty the ſituation of the Charaibes, in reſpect to the Crown of Great Britain, was defined and

and clearly expressed; and I admit that their future conduct was to be tried by the terms of it.



On the 19th of June 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the resources of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, consisting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a Lieutenant in the French navy. The black Charaibes however, notwithstanding the treaty of 1773, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt that the terror which seized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the island surrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time sixty-one sugar estates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, besides land appropriated to the raising provisions, such as plantains, yams, maize, &c. All the rest of the country, excepting the few

BOOK III.

few ſpots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes, retained its native woods, and moſt of it, I believe, continues in the ſame ſtate to the preſent hour.

It is remarkable that no ſtipulation was made by the French government on this occaſion, on behalf of their allies the Charaibes, whom they had ſeduced from their allegiance; and it therefore reflects great honour, both on the Britiſh government and the reſident planters, that no advantage was taken of their miſconduct. The Charaibes, even thoſe who had been the moſt active in the war, were permitted to return peaceably to their poſſeſſions and occupations. They were treated as an ignorant and deluded people; as objects of compaſſion, not of vengeance; and it was prudently and generouſly agreed, as by common conſent, to bury all paſt offences and cauſes of complaint in oblivion.

St. Vincent's contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate vallies, however, are fertile in a high degree, the ſoil conſiſting chiefly of a fine mould, compoſed of ſand and clay, well adapted for ſugar. The extent of country at preſent poſſeſſed by Britiſh ſubjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is ſuppoſed to be held

held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is thought to be incapable of cultivation or improvement. CHAP. III.

The Island, or rather the Britiſh territory within it, is divided into five pariſhes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780: whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingſton, the capital of the iſland, and the ſeat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconſiderable hamlets, conſiſting each of a few houſes only.

But the publick eſtabliſhment that reflects the greateſt honour on St. Vincent's is its celebrated botanick garden, under the provident and well directed care of Mr. Anderſon. It conſiſts of 30 acres, of which no leſs than ſixteen are in high cultivation, abounding not only with almoſt every ſpecies of the vegetable world, which the hand of nature has beſtowed on theſe iſlands for uſe and beauty, for food and luxury, but alſo with many valuable exoticks from the Eaſt Indies, and South America.—If it be ſurpaſſed in this latter reſpect, by the magnificent garden of Mr. Eaſt *(c)*, it claims at leaſt the honour of ſenio-

*(c)* In Jamaica. See p. 203.

rity,

BOOK III.

rity, and does infinite credit both to its original founders and present directors.

In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent seems to differ in no respect from Grenada.—The council consist of twelve members, the assembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary (exclusive of fees of office) is two thousand pounds sterling, of which £. 1,300 is a charge upon the fund arising from the duty of 4½ *per centum*. The remainder is by grant of the assembly.

The military force consists at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country—but provided for, with the former on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the island. The militia consists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty Whites, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three Negroes.

Of the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports from this island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other islands, is subjoined. In this table, however,

ever, I conceive is comprehended the produce of the ſeveral iſlands dependant on the St. Vincent government, *viz.* Bequia, containing 3,700 acres. This little iſland is valuable from the commodiouſneſs of its fine harbour, called Admiralty Bay; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canouane, containing 1,777 acres; and Muſtique, containing about 1,203 acres *(d)*; the Negroes employed in the cultivation of theſe iſlands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe, included in the 11,853 before mentioned.

*(d)* There are likewiſe the little Iſlots of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Balleſeau, each of which produces a little cotton.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veſſels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared Outwards from the Iſland of ST. VINCENT, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of JANUARY 1787 and the 5th of JANUARY 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inſpector General of Great Britain.

| *Whither Bound.* | Shipping. | | | Cut Sugar | Rum. | Melaſſes. | Coffee. | Cotton. | Cacao. | Miſcellaneous Articles, as Hides, Dying Woods, &c. | TOTAL, according to the Current Prices in London. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nº | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Gallons | Gallons. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | lbs. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Value. | |
| | | | | | | | | | | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| To Great Britain | 30 | 6,086 | 463 | 64,449 1 27 | 15,766 | 9,656 | 632 1 5 | 760,380 | 99 2 24 | 2,570 7 6 | 175,571 9 6 |
| American States | 21 | 2,587 | 174 | 579 — — | 51,300 | — | 2 – – | 1,500 | 43 2 — | 16 – – | 9,019 1 8 |
| Foreign West Indies | 71 | 3,963 | 332 | — | 21,200 | — | — | — | — | 5 3 6 | 1,860 3 6 |
| | 122 | 12,636 | 969 | 65,028 1 27 | 88,266 | 9,656 | 634 1 5 | 761,880 | 143 – 24 | 2,591 11 – | 186,450 14 8 |

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J. Cooke sc. Mill Hill.

SECTION II.

# DOMINICA.

CHAP. III.

THE iſland of Dominica, was ſo named by Chriſtopher Columbus, from the circumſtance of its being diſcovered by him on a Sunday *(e)*. My account of it will be very brief, for its civil hiſtory, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conqueſt it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the Britiſh crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February 1763.

NOTWITHSTANDING that Dominica had, until that time, been conſidered as a neutral iſland, many of the ſubjects of France had eſtabliſhed coffee plantations, and other ſettlements, in various parts of the country; and it reflects honour on the Britiſh adminiſtration, that theſe people were ſecured in their poſſeſſions, on con-

*(e)* November 3d. 1493. It was the firſt land which he diſcovered in his ſecond voyage, after having been twenty days at ſea from the Canaries.

dition

BOOK III. dition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannick Majeſty and paying a ſmall quit-rent *(f)*. The reſt of the cultivable lands were ordered to be ſold on the ſame conditions as thoſe of St. Vincent, by commiſſioners nominated for that purpoſe, and no leſs than 94,346 acres (comprehending one half of the iſland) were accordingly diſpoſed of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one hundred acres, yielding the ſum of £.312.092. 11 *s.* 1 *d.* ſterling money *(g)*.

It does not however appear that the purchaſes thus made by Britiſh ſubjects have anſwered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhabitants of Dominica are ſtill more numerous than the Engliſh, and poſſeſs the moſt valuable coffee plantations in the iſland, the produce of which has

*(f)* The crown granted them leaſes, ſome for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in every leaſe, "that the poſſeſſor, his heirs or aſſigns, ſhould pay to his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, the ſum of two ſhillings ſterling *per annum*, for every acre of land, of which the leaſe ſhould conſiſt." And further, "that they ſhould not ſell or diſpoſe of their lands, without the conſent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that iſland, for the time being." This indulgence however did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French ſubject.

*(g)* No perſon was allowed to purchaſe, either in his own name, or in the name of others, in truſt for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

has hitherto been found its moſt important ſtaple. They differ but little, in manners, cuſtoms and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and their prieſts have been hitherto appointed by ſuperiors in Martinico; to the government of which iſland, and to the laws of their own nation, they conſider themſelves to be amenable. CHAP. III.

I AM ſorry hiſtorical juſtice obliges me to obſerve, that the liberal conduct of the Britiſh government towards theſe people, after they became adopted ſubjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general intereſts of mankind, ought to be religiouſly manifeſted on ſuch occaſions.

AT the commencement of the hopeleſs and deſtructive war between Great Britain and her Colonies in North America, the iſland of Dominica was in a flouriſhing ſituation. The port of Roſeau having been declared a free port by act of parliament, was reſorted to by trading veſſels from moſt parts of the foreign Weſt Indies, as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchaſed great numbers of Negroes there for the ſupply of their ſettlements, together with vaſt quantities of the merchandize and manufactures of Great Britain; payment for all which was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton, and

BOOK III.

completed in mules and cattle; articles of prime neceſſity to the planter *(h)*.

Thus the iſland, though in itſelf certainly not ſo fertile as ſome others of leſs extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of conſiderable importance; but unfortunately it wanted that protection, which alone could give its poſſeſſions ſtability and value.

To thoſe who recollect the frantick rage, with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in, the ſubjugation of America, the utter diſregard which was manifeſted by the then adminiſtration towards the ſecurity of this and the other Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, may not perhaps be matter of ſurpriſe; but it will hereafter be ſcarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, conſiſted of no more than ſix officers and ninety-four privates! This ſhameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this iſland, from its local ſituation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the beſt calculated of all the poſſeſſions of Great Britain in that part of the world, for

*(h)* Roſeau is ſtill a free-port, but the reſtrictions and regulations of the late act are ſo rigid, that foreigners are diſcouraged from reſorting to it, and, ſince ſome late ſeizures, conſider the law as a ſnare to invite them to ruin.

ſecuring

ſecuring to her the dominion of the Charaibean ſea. A few ſhips of war ſtationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, would effectually ſtop all intercourſe of the French ſettlements with each other, as every veſſel is liable to capture by ſhips cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the iſland. This indeed was diſcovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumſtances which I have recounted, namely, the growing proſperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the Britiſh Miniſtry towards its ſecurity, had already attracted the vigilant rapacioufneſs of the French government; but it is aſſerted, that many of the inhabitants within the colony, who had formerly been ſubjects of France, ſcrupled not, on the firſt intimation that hoſtilities had been commenced in Europe, in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proof of this may not perhaps eaſily be produced, but it is certain that their ſubſequent conduct gave too much cauſe for ſuch a ſuſpicion.

On Monday, the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, conſiſting of a forty-gun ſhip, three frigates, and about thirty ſail of armed ſloops and ſchooners, having on board two thouſand regular troops, and a lawleſs banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the iſland, under the command

BOOK III.

of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, and general of the French Windward West-Indian Iſlands. Part of the troops having ſoon afterwards landed without oppoſition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Caſhacrou, the chief defence of the iſland, and in which a detachment of the regulars was ſtationed. This fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea, and was conſidered ſo very defenſible, that it was ſuppoſed a few hundred men, well provided, would maintain it againſt as many thouſands. Great therefore was the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh in the town of Roſeau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had ſurrendered without reſiſtance; but, ſtrange as it may ſeem, the caſe appeared afterwards to have been, that ſome of the French inhabitants had inſinuated themſelves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few ſoldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to ſpike up the cannon!

Having thus made themſelves maſters of Fort Caſhacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by Fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately theſe batteries were ill provided, and worſe manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed one

CHAP. III.

one hundred and twenty; for but few of the French inhabitants thought proper to aſſemble; and of thoſe that made their appearance, many withdrew themſelves again, and were no more ſeen until the iſland had ſurrendered.

The ſmall force however that was collected, behaved with that ſpirit and gallantry, which give room to lament they were not better ſupported. Three times was the enemy driven out of Fort Loubiere, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves in their march, and twice were the colours which they had hoiſted thereon ſhot away. Their commiſſary-general, and forty of their ſoldiers, were killed, and Bouillé himſelf had a very narrow eſcape; his ſword being ſhot away from his ſide *.

But gallantry was unavailing againſt ſuch ſuperiority of numbers; for about two thouſand of the French having gained poſſeſſion of the heights above Roſeau, this laſt circumſtance determined the fate of the iſland. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them, from their liberal and noble-minded conqueror, very honourable terms of capitulation. Beſides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain

* General Bouillé himſelf afterwards affected to ſay, that he loſt no men in the attack of Fort Loubiere, except the commiſſary-general. The fact however was as above ſtated.

 their

BOOK III.

their arms, their civil government, and the free exercife of their religion, laws, cuftoms, and ordinances; to preferve the adminiftration of juftice in the fame perfons in whom it was then vefted, and to enjoy their poffeffions, of what nature foever, unmolefted; a privilege which was exprefsly extended to abfent as well as refident proprietors.

De Bouillé having thus completed his conqueft, departed for Martinico; leaving the Marquis Duchilleau, (a man of a far different character) commander in chief of Dominica; whofe conduct, during four years that he continued in the ifland, is faid to have been fo wantonly oppreffive and tyrannical, that we are left to wonder at the patient long-fuffering and forbearance of the people under his government, in fubmitting to it for half the time.

His firft meafure was to difarm the Englifh inhabitants, in direct violation of the capitulation, and he entered into a treaty with the runaway Negroes for their affiftance, if wanted. He iffued an order, forbidding the Englifh to affemble together more than two in a place, and he commanded the centinels to difperfe them if they were found together in greater numbers. He ordered that no lights fhould be feen in their

houſes after nine o'clock at night, and that no Engliſh perſon ſhould preſume to walk the ſtreets after that hour, without a candle and lanthorn. Mr. Robert How, an Engliſh merchant, and owner of a ſhip then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own veſſel after that hour, was ſhot dead in the attempt; and the centinel who killed him was raiſed to a higher ſtation in his regiment, for having thus (as the governor expreſſed it) *done his duty*.

So very apprehenſive was this governor that the Engliſh inhabitants were forming deſigns to retake the iſland, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inſpection before it was delivered. And, deeming this meaſure inſufficient to furniſh him with the knowledge of their private tranſactions, he adopted the practice of going himſelf in diſguiſe, or employing others who better knew the Engliſh language, in order to liſten at their doors and windows in the night-time, to the converſation which paſſed in domeſtick intercourſe.

He repeatedly threatened to ſet fire to the town of Roſeau, in caſe the iſland ſhould be attacked; and, though this was never attempted by the Engliſh forces, yet that town was ſet fire to (as it was believed) by the French ſoldiers, and there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the go-

 vernor

vernor was privy to it. This ſuppoſition was ſtrongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy ſcene, at which he himſelf was preſent the beſt part of the time, and, it is very confidently aſſerted, would not allow his ſoldiers to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames, ſave only in houſes that belonged to the French inhabitants.

THIS fire happened the evening of Eaſter Sunday, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred houſes were conſumed in a few hours; and a vaſt quantity of rich merchandize and effects deſtroyed, to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

WHILE the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domeſtick deſpotiſm, they had no reſources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, inſomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the iſland of Dominica was in poſſeſſion of the French, it was not reſorted to by any veſſels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that kingdom; but part of it was ſent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch Iſland of St. Euſtatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney; and from thence it was exported to England, under the moſt extravagant expences and loſs to the proprietors.

OTHER parts of their produce were ſent in Dutch veſſels, which were engaged for the purpoſe in England, to Rotterdam; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was ſent under imperial colours to Oſtend, where the ſugar ſold from ſix to eight pounds ſterling the hogſhead.

THESE accumulated diſtreſſes ended in the abſolute ruin of many of the planters, and no leſs than thirty ſugar plantations were, in conſequence thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length, however, the day of deliverance arrived; for, in the month of January 1783, Dominica was reſtored to the government of England. The joy which, on this event, animated the boſom and enlightened the countenance of every man, whom painful experience, under an arbitrary government, had taught to ſet a right value on the Britiſh conſtitution, may be conceived, but cannot be deſcribed. The inhabitants were now reſtored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil eſtabliſhment, ſimilar to thoſe of the other Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, which being hereafter to be deſcribed at length, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon in this place, except to obſerve, that the legiſlative authority of this iſland is veſted in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gen-

tlemen,

BOOK III. tlemen, and an aſſembly of nineteen members (k). The few obſervations therefore which follow, concerning its preſent ſtate and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten pariſhes. The town of Roſeau is at preſent the capital of the iſland, and is ſituated in the pariſh of St. George, being about ſeven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S. W. ſide of the iſland, which forms two bays, *viz.* Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotteville bay to the ſouthward.

Roseau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotteville to Roſeau river, and moſtly two furlongs in breadth, but leſs in ſome parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houſes, excluſive of the cottages occupied by Negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thouſand.

This iſland is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned ſixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, interſperſed with fine vallies, and in general they appear to be fertile. Several of the mountains

(k) The governor's ſalary, excluſive of his fees of office, is £. 1,300 ſterling, payable out of the 4½ *per cent.* duties; whether he has any addition from the colonial aſſembly, I am not informed.

contain unextinguiſhed volcanoes, which frequently diſcharge vaſt quantities of burning ſulphur. From theſe mountains alſo iſſue ſprings of hot water, ſome of which are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs great virtue in the caſe of tropical diſorders. In ſome places the water is ſaid to be hot enough to coagulate an egg *(l)*. CHAP. III.

DOMINICA is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the iſland, beſides a great number of rivulets. The ſoil, in moſt of the interior country, is a light, brown-coloured mould, and appears to have been waſhed from the mountains. Towards the ſea-coaſt, and in many of the vallies, it is a deep, black, and rich native earth, and ſeems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of Weſt Indian produce. The under ſtratum is in ſome parts a yellow or brick clay, in others a ſtiff terrace, but the land is in moſt places very ſtony.

I AM afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile ſoil bears but a very ſmall proportion to the whole; there not being more than fifty ſugar

*(l)* In the woods of Dominica are innumerable ſwarms of bees, which lodge in the trees, and produce great quantities of wax and honey, both of which are equal in goodneſs to any in Europe. It is preciſely the ſame ſpecies of bee as in Europe, and muſt have been tranſported thither; the native bee of the Weſt Indies being a ſmaller ſpecies, unprovided with ſtings, and very different in its manners from the European.

plantations

BOOK III.

plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed, that on an average, one year with another, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogsheads of sugar. This is certainly a very small quantity of that article for such an extensive island, or even for the number of sugar plantations at present under cultivation, allowing only one hundred acres of canes to each.

COFFEE seems to answer better than sugar, there being somewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

A SMALL part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, have hitherto been obtained from the dominions of foreign states in South America, and imported into this island under the free-port law.

THE number of white inhabitants, of all descriptions and ages, appears, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1,236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of slaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet, inoffensive people, speak

a language

a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them underſtand Engliſh *(m)*.

SUCH is the information which I have collected concerning the civil hiſtory and preſent ſtate of Dominica, for great part of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood *(n)*. Nothing

*(m)* A late writer gives the following account of theſe people: "They are of a clear copper colour, have long, ſleek, black hair: their perſons are ſhort, ſtout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fiſhing in the rivers and the ſea, or by fowling in the woods, in both which purſuits they uſe their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is ſaid they will kill the ſmalleſt bird with an arrow at a great diſtance, or transfix a fiſh at a conſiderable depth in the ſea. They diſplay alſo very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers, or baſkets, of ſilk graſs, or the leaves and bark of trees."

*(n)* See the Hiſtory of the Iſland of Dominica, by Mr. Thomas Atwood, 1791. Treating of the natural productions of this iſland, Mr. Atwood gives the following account of an inſect, which he calls *the vegetable fly* "It is of the appearance and ſize of a ſmall cockchafer, and buries itſelf in the ground, where it dies; and from its body ſprings up a ſmall plant, which reſembles a young coffee-tree, only that its leaves are ſmaller. The plant is often overlooked, from the ſuppoſition people have of its being no other than a coffee plant; but on examining it properly, the difference is eaſily diſtinguiſhed; the head, body, and feet of the inſect appearing at the foot, as perfect as when alive." This account is extraordinary but not more ſurpriſing than the Rev. Nicholas Collins's deſcription, in the American Philoſophical Tranſactions *, of a certain *zoophyton* in the Ohio country,

* Introduction to vol. iii. p. 23.

BOOK III. Nothing now remains but to ſet forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I ſhall adopt, as in other caſes, from the return of the Inſpector General for the year 1787.

try, which (he declares) is alternately vegetable and animal; for having crawled about the woods in its animal ſtate until it grows weary of that mode of exiſtence, it fixes itſelf in the ground, and *becomes a ſtately plant, with a ſtem iſſuing from its mouth.*" I give theſe accounts as I find them, without vouching for the veracity of either.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veſſels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Iſland of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.

| Whither Bound. | Shipping. | | | Sugar. | Rum. | Melaſſes. | Cacao. | Coffee. | Indigo. | Cotton. | Ginger. | Value of Miſcellaneous Articles, as Hydes, Dying Woods, &c. | Total Value according to the Prices current in London. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N° | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Gallons. | Gallons. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | lbs. | lbs. | Cwt. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| To Great Britain | 56 | 8,682 | 966 | 58,665 1 21 | 1,492 | 9,423 | 1,126 2 26 | 17,387 3 6 | 11,250 | 961,066 | 161 | 11,635 11 3 | 271,472 14 – |
| Ireland - - | 9 | 1,046 | 85 | 11,163 – — | 3,600 | — | 8 – 4 | — | — | 9,750 | — | 20 — – | 19,900 11 6 |
| American States | 16 | 2,003 | 147 | 1,066 – — | 31,600 | — | 45 – — | 543 – – | — | — | — | 194 — – | 7,164 5 – |
| Britiſh American Colonies | 14 | 1,096 | 96 | 408 – — | 25,400 | 7,380 | 15 – — | 219 – – | — | — | — | 21 13 6 | 4,295 3 6 |
| Foreign Weſt Indies - - | 67 | 5,299 | 520 | — | 1,300 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 41 6 — | 155 1 – |
| | 162 | 18,126 | 1,814 | 71,302 1 21 | 63,392 | 16,803 | 1,194 3 2 | 18,149 3 6 | 11,250 | 970,816 | 161 | 11,912 10 9 | 302,987 15 – |

# APPENDIX

TO

## CHAP. III. OF BOOK II.

A Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, concluded the 17th of February 1773, between his Excellency General Dalrymple, on the part of His Britannick Majeſty, and by the Chiefs of Grand Sable, Maſiraca, Rabacca, Macaricau Byera, Coubamaron Jambon, Colourie, Camacarabou Ourawarou, and Point Eſpaniol, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Charaibes of St. Vincent; that is to ſay:

APPEN-DIX.

"1. All hoſtile proceedings are to ceaſe, and a firm "and laſting peace and friendſhip to ſucceed.

"The Charaibes ſhall acknowledge his Majeſty to "be the rightful ſovereign of the iſland and domain of "St. Vincent's; take an oath of fidelity to him as their "King; promiſe abſolute ſubmiſſion to his will, and lay "down their arms.

"3. They ſhall ſubmit themſelves to the laws and "obedience of his Majeſty's government, and the Go-"vernor ſhall have power to enact further regulations for "the public advantage as ſhall be convenient. (This "article only reſpects their tranſactions with his Ma-"jeſty's ſubjects, not being Indians; their intercourſe "and cuſtoms with each other, in the quarters allotted them,

" them, not being affected by it.) And all new regula-
" tions are to receive his Majesty's Governor's approba-
" tion before carried into execution.

" 4. A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, ſhall be " allotted for the reſidence of the Charaibes; viz. from " the river Byera to Point Eſpagniol on the one ſide, and " from the river Analibou to Point Eſpagniol on the " other ſide, according to lines to be drawn by his Ma- " jeſty's ſurveyors, from the ſources of the rivers to the " tops of the mountains; the reſt of the lands, formerly " inhabited by Charaibes, for the future to belong en- " tirely to his Majeſty.

" 5. Thoſe lands ſhall not be alienated, either by " ſale, leaſe, or otherwiſe, but to perſons properly autho- " rized by his Majeſty to receive them.

" 6. Roads, ports, batteries, and communications ſhall " be made, as his Majeſty pleaſes.

" 7. No undue intercourſe with the French iſlands " ſhall be allowed.

" 8. Run-away ſlaves in the poſſeſſion of the Cha- " raibes are to be delivered up, and endeavours uſed to " diſcover and apprehend the others; and an engage- " ment ſhall be entered into, not to encourage, receive, " or harbour any ſlave whatever: the forfeiture of lands " ſhall be the penalty for harbouring ſlaves; and carrying " them off the iſland ſhall be conſidered as a capital " crime.

" 9. Perſons guilty of capital crimes againſt the " Engliſh are to be delivered up.

APPEN-DIX.

"10. In time of danger, the Charaibes ſhall be aiding "and aſſiſting to his Majeſty's ſubjects againſt their "enemies.

"11. The three chains to remain to his Majeſty.

"12. All conſpiracies and plots againſt his Majeſty, "or his government, are to be made known to his Go-"vernor, or other civil magiſtrates.

"13. Leave (if required) is given to the Charaibes "to depart this iſland, with their families and properties, "and aſſiſtance in their tranſportation.

"14. Free acceſs to the quarters allowed to the Cha-"raibes is to be given to perſons properly empowered "to go in purſuit of run-away ſlaves, and ſafe conduct "afforded them.

"15. Deſerters from his Majeſty's ſervice (if any) "and run-away ſlaves from the French, ſhall be de-"livered up, in order that they may be returned to their "maſters.

"16. The chiefs of the different quarters are to render "an account of the names and number of the inhabitants "of their reſpective diſtricts.

"17. The chiefs, and other Charaibes, inhabitants, "are to attend the Governor, when ever required, for "his Majeſty's ſervice.

"18. All poſſible facility, conſiſtent with the laws of "Great Britain, is to be afforded to the Charaibes in the "ſale of their produce, and in their trade to the different "Britiſh iſlands.

"19. Entire

" 19. Entire liberty of fiſhing, as well on the coaſt " of St. Vincent's, as at the neighbouring keys, is to be " allowed them.

" 20. In all caſes, when the Charaibes conceive them- " ſelves injured by his Majeſty's other ſubjects, or other " perſons, and are deſirous of having reference to the " laws, or to the civil magiſtrates, an agent, being one " of his Majeſty's natural born ſubjects, may be em- " ployed by themſelves, or if more agreeable at his Ma- " jeſty's coſt.

" 21. No ſtrangers, or white perſons, are to be allowed " to ſettle among the Charaibes, without permiſſion firſt " obtained in writing from the Governor.

" 22. Theſe articles ſubſcribed to and obſerved, the " Charaibes are to be pardoned, ſecured, and fixed in their " property, accordingly to his Majeſty's directions given, " and all paſt offences forgot.

" 23. After the ſigning of this treaty, ſhould any of " the Charaibes refuſe to obſerve the condition of it, they " are to be conſidered and treated as enemies by both " parties, and the moſt effectual means uſed to reduce " them.

" 24. The Charaibes ſhall take the following oath; " viz.

> " We, A. B. do ſwear, in the name of the immortal " God, and Chriſt Jeſus, that we will bear true " allegiance to his Majeſty George the Third, of " Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, De- " fender of the Faith, &c.; and that we will pay " due obedience to the laws of Great Britain, and

 " the

APPEN-
DIX.

"the Iſland of St. Vincent; and will well and "truly obſerve every article of the treaty con- "cluded between his ſaid Majeſty and the Cha- "raibes; and we do acknowledge that his ſaid "Majeſty is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all the "Iſland of St. Vincent, and that the lands held "by us the Charaibes are granted through his "Majeſty's clemency.

"On the part of his Majeſty,

"W. Dalrymple.

"On the part of the Charaibes,

"Jean Baptiſte,
"Dufont Begot,
"Boyordell,
"Dirang,
"Chatoyér,
"Doucre Baramont,
"Lalime, junior,
"Broca,
"Saioe,
"François Laron.
"Saint Laron.
"Aniſette,
"Clement,
"Bigott,
"Simon,
"Lalime, ſenior.
"Baüamont,
"Juſtin Baüamont,
"Matthieu,
"Jean Louis Pacquin,
"Gadel Goibau,
"John Baptiſte,
"Lonen,
"Boyüdon,
"Du Vallet,
"Boucharie,
"Deruba Babilliard,
"Canaia."

Publish'd October 6, 1794, by J. Stockdale Piccadilly.

## CHAP. IV.

*Leeward Charaibean Iſland Government, comprehending St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and the Virgin Iſlands.—Civil Hiſtory and Geographical Deſcription of each.—Table of Exports from each Iſland for* 1787; *and an Account of the Money ariſing from the Duty of Four and a Half per Cent. Obſervations concerning their Decline; and a ſhort Account of the Iſlands of Bermudas and the Bahamas.*

THE Britiſh Leeward Iſlands, ſince the year 1672, have conſtituted one diſtinct government; the governor being ſtiled *Captain General of the Leeward Charaibean Iſlands.* He viſits each occaſionally, but his chief ſeat of reſidence is Antigua; the government of each, in the abſence of the governor-general, being uſually adminiſtered by a lieutenant-governor, whoſe authority is limited to that particular iſland, and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the preſident of the council takes the command. I ſhall treat of them ſeparately, and afterwards combine, in a conciſe ſummary, thoſe circumſtances which are common to them all. CHAP. IV.

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Their civil hiſtory will be ſhort; for in this part of my ſubject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers, who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indiſpenſibly requiſite.

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## Section I.

## St. CHRISTOPHER's.

THE iſland of St. Chriſtopher was called by its ancient poſſeſſors, the Charaibes, *Liamuiga*, or the Fertile Iſland. It was diſcovered in November 1493, by Columbus himſelf, who was ſo pleaſed with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own Chriſtian name. But it was neither planted nor poſſeſſed by the Spaniards. It was, however (notwithſtanding that the general opinion aſcribes the honour of ſeniority to Barbadoes) the eldeſt of all the Britiſh territories in the Weſt Indies, and, in truth, the common mother both of the Engliſh and French ſettlements in the Charaibean iſlands. The fact, as related by an hiſtorian *(a)*, to whoſe induſtry and knowledge I have been ſo largely indebted in my ac-

*(a)* Dr. John Campbell.

count

count of St. Vincent, was this, "In the number of thoſe gentlemen who accompanied Captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with Captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced ſeaman, the latter ſuggeſted how much eaſier it would be to fix, and preſerve in good order, a colony in one of the ſmall iſlands, deſpiſed and deſerted by the Spaniards; than on that vaſt country, the continent, where, for want of ſufficient authority, all things were fallen into confuſion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpoſe the iſland of St. Chriſtopher. This gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, reſolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly aſſociated himſelf with fourteen other perſons, and with them took his paſſage on board a ſhip bound to Virginia. From thence he and his companions ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's, where they arrived in January 1623, and by the month of September following had raiſed a good crop of tobacco, which they propoſed to make their ſtaple commodity." It has been ſhewn in a former chapter, that the firſt actual eſtabliſhment in Barbadoes, took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of hiſtorians, who have treated of the affairs of the Weſt Indies, it is aſſerted that a party of the French, under the command

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of a perſon of the name of D'Eſnambuc, took poſſeſſion of one part of this iſland, on the ſame day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the firſt landing of Warner and his aſſociates happened two years before the arrival of D'Eſnambuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the Engliſh ſettlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demoliſhed by a dreadful hurricane, which put a ſudden ſtop to their progreſs. In conſequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore ſuccour; and it was on that occaſion that he ſought and obtained the powerful patronage and ſupport of James Hay, Earl of Carliſle. This nobleman cauſed a ſhip to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of neceſſaries. It was called the Hopewell; and arrived at St. Chriſtopher's on the 18th of May 1624; and thus he certainly preſerved a ſettlement, which had otherwiſe died in its infancy. Warner himſelf did not return to St. Chriſtopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Eſnambuc arrived about the ſame time; perhaps the ſame day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and, having in an engagement with a Spaniſh galleon of ſuperior ſtrength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after loſing ſeveral of his men, to

ſeek

ſeek refuge in theſe iſlands. He brought with him to St. Chriſtopher's about thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the Engliſh, who appear at this time to have been under ſome apprehenſions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's firſt colony had lived on friendly terms with theſe poor ſavages, by whom they were liberally ſupplied with proviſions; but having ſeized on their lands, the conſciouſneſs of deſerving retaliation made the planters apprehenſive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates, that the French and Engliſh receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a ſcheme for ſeizing the conſpirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the ſtouteſt, drove all the reſt from the iſland, except ſuch of the women as were young and handſome, of whom, ſays the reverend hiſtorian, they made concubines and ſlaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates theſe tranſactions with perfect compoſure, as founded on common uſage, and not unwarrantable in their nature. He adds, that ſuch of the Charaibes as eſcaped the maſſacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring iſlands, a large body of them returned ſoon afterwards, breathing re-

venge;

venge; and now the conflict became serious. The Europeans, however, more from the superiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

After this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted altogether this and some of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired southwards. The two leaders, Warner and D'Esnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe for the purpose of soliciting succour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they severally met with all possible encouragement. Warner was knighted by his sovereign, and through the interest of his noble patron sent back as governor in 1626 with four hundred new recruits, amply supplied with necessaries of all kinds; while Desnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu (the minister of France) projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with Desnambuc in opinion, that such an institution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization; —an erroneous conclusion, which Desnambuc himself had soon abundant occasion to lament;

 for

for the French in general either misunderstood or disapproved the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the ships which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly supplied with provisions and necessaries, that of five hundred and thirty-two recruits, who sailed from France with Desnambuc, in February 1627, the greater part perished miserably at sea for want of food.

The English received the survivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contests in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and signed, with many formalities, on the third of May 1627: it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof I have elsewhere related *(b)*. Yet surely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new settlers towards the Charaibes was such as Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befel them. The mind exults in the chastisement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

*(b)* Book II. Chap. ii.

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It may now be thought that thoſe of the two nations who ſurvived ſo deſtructive a ſtorm, had learnt moderation and forbearance in the ſchool of adverſity; and indeed for ſome years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry and hereditary animoſity were allowed their full influence, inſomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little iſland exhibited a diſguſting ſcene of internal contention, violence, and bloodſhed. It is impoſſible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the Engliſh were the firſt aggreſſors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the firſt Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his ſubjects in St. Chriſtopher's, diſdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the Engliſh planters, and drove them out of their poſſeſſions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, reſtored to them. In 1689, in conſequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French planters in this iſland, declaring themſelves in the intereſts of the abdicated monarch, attacked and expelled their Engliſh neighbours a ſecond time, laying waſte their plantations, and committing ſuch outrages as are unjuſtifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open

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and avowed hoſtility. Their conduct on this occaſion was deemed ſo cruel and treacherous, that it was aſſigned by King William and Queen Mary among the cauſes which induced them to declare war againſt the French nation. Even fortune herſelf, inclining at length to the ſide of juſtice, from henceforward deſerted them; for, after they had continued about eight months ſole maſters of the iſland, the Engliſh under the command of General Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to ſurrender, but actually tranſported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hiſpaniola. It is true, that reparation was ſtipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryſwick in 1697; but war again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little advantage from that clauſe in their favour. They had however, in 1705, the gloomy ſatisfaction to behold many of the Engliſh poſſeſſions again laid waſte by a French armament, which committed ſuch ravages, that the Britiſh parliament found it neceſſary to diſtribute the ſum of £. 103,000 among the ſufferers, to enable them to re-ſettle their plantations. Happily, this was the laſt exertion of national enmity and civil diſcord within this little community; for, at the peace of Utrecht, the iſland was ceded wholly to the Engliſh, and the French poſſeſſions publickly ſold

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fold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, £.80,000 of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the Princess Anne, who was betrothed to the Prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who consented to take the oaths, were naturalized, and permitted to retain their estates.

SUCH were the origin and progress of the British establishment in the Island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invasion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrison of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thousand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the consequent surrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1783, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I presume are somewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

ST. CHRISTOPHER lies in 17° 15′ North latitude, and 63° 17′ West longitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and 4,000

to

to pafturage. As fugar is the only commodity of any account that is raifed, except provifions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole ifland is unfit for cultivation. The interior part of the country confifts indeed of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of thefe, the loftieft is Mount-Mifery (evidently a decayed volcano) which rifes 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the fea *(b)*. Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the fterility of the mountains, by the fertility fhe has beftowed upon the plains. No part of the Weft-Indies that I have feen, poffeffes even the fame fpecies of foil that is found in St. Chriftopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, fo light and porous as to be penetrable by the flighteft application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of fubterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalifts, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under ftratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is no where found, except at a confiderable height in the mountains.

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*(b)* There is an immenfe crater on the top of this mountain, the bottom of which is nearly level, and fuppofed to contain 50 acres, of which feven are covered with water; the reft are clothed with high grafs and trees, among which the mountain cabbage is very confpicuous. From the crannies or fiffures of this crater ftill flow ftreams of hot water, which are ftrongly impregnated with fulphur, alum, and vitriolick acid.

By

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By what procefs of nature the foil which I have mentioned becomes more efpecially fuited to the production of fugar than any other in the Weft Indies, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. The circumftance, however, is unqueftionable. Canes, planted in particular fpots, have been known to yield 8,000 lbs. of Mufcovado fugar from a fingle acre. One gentleman, in a favourable feafon, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogfheads of fixteen cwt. each *per* acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greateft part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the ifland, is equally productive. The general average produce for a feries of years is 16,000 hogfheads of fixteen cwt. which, as one-half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut (the remainder being in young canes) gives nearly two hogfheads of fixteen cwt. *per* acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled I imagine by any other fugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though fome of the choiceft lands may yield in favourable years two hogfheads of fixteen cwt. *per* acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I am informed, however, that the planters of

St.

CHAP. IV.

St. Chriſtopher's are at a great expence for manure; that they never cut *ratoon* canes *(c)*; and although there is no want in the country of ſprings and rivulets for the ſupport of the inhabitants, their plantations ſuffer much in dry weather, as the ſubſtratum does not long retain moiſture *(d)*.

THIS iſland is divided into nine pariſhes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Baſſeterre (the preſent capital, as it was formerly that of the French, containing about 800 houſes) Sandy-Point, Old Road, and Deep Bay. Of theſe, the two firſt are ports of entry, eſtabliſhed by law. The fortifications conſiſt of Charles-Fort and Brimſtone-Hill, both near Sandy-Point; three batteries at Baſſeterre, one at Fig-Tree Bay, another at Palmeto-Point, and ſome ſmaller ones of no great importance.

THE proportion which St. Chriſtopher's contributes, with the other iſlands, towards an honourable proviſion for the Governor General, is £. 1,000 currency *per annum*; which is ſettled on him by the aſſembly immediately on his ar-

*(c)* *Ratoon* canes are ſhoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

*(d)* The woods on the mountainous part of this iſland harbour abundance of a ſmall ſpecies of monkey, troops of which frequently come down to devour the canes, and do inconceivable miſchief.

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rival. He has befides fome perquifites; and in time of war they are confiderable.

Each ifland within this government has a feparate council, and each of them an affembly, or houfe of reprefentatives. In St. Chriftopher's, the council fhould confift of ten members, but it is feldom that more than feven are prefent. The houfe of affembly is compofed of twenty-four reprefentatives, of whom fifteen make a quorum. The requifite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a houfe worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds *per annum*.

The Governor of this, and the other iflands in the fame government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Chriftopher's fits alone. Attempts have been made to join fome of the council with him, as in Barbadoes; but hitherto without fuccefs, the inhabitants choofing rather to fubmit to the expence and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than fuffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, fome of whom it is probable, from their fituation and connections, may be interefted in the event of every fuit that may come before them.

In this ifland, as in Jamaica, the jurifdiction of both the King's Bench and Common Pleas, centers in one fuperior court, wherein juftice is adminiftered by a chief juftice and four puifne judges.

judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, the others by the governor in the King's name, and they all hold their commiſſions during pleaſure. The office of chief judge is worth about £. 600 *per annum*. The emoluments of the aſſiſtant judges are trifling.

The preſent number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes; and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other Britiſh iſlands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of ſixteen to ſixty are obliged to enliſt in the militia, and in this iſland they ſerve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment ſeldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewiſe a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, conſtituted the whole of the military force within the iſland; the Britiſh government refuſing to ſend them troops of any kind.

Of the wiſdom of ſuch conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural ſtrength of this iſland, from the conformation and inequalities of its ſurface, is ſuch, that a garriſon of two thouſand effective troops, properly ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, would in all human

 probability

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probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invaſion of 1782.

WITH St. Chriſtopher's ſurrendered alſo the iſland of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a ſmall channel, and of which I ſhall now give ſome account.

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## SECTION II.

## NEVIS.

THIS beautiful little ſpot is nothing more than a ſingle mountain, riſing like a cone in an eaſy aſcent from the ſea; the circumference of its baſe not exceeding eight Engliſh leagues. It is generally believed that Columbus beſtowed on it the appellation of *Nieves*, or *The Snows*, from its reſemblance to a mountain of the ſame name in Spain, the top of which is covered with ſnow; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in thoſe days a white ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the ſummit, which at a diſtance had a ſnow-like appearance, and that it rather derived its name from thence. That the iſland was produced by ſome volcanick exploſion, there can be no doubt; for there is a hollow, or crater, near the ſummit, ſtill viſible, which contains a hot ſpring ſtrongly impregnated

impregnated with ſulphur; and ſulphur is frequently found in ſubſtance, in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth. CHAP. IV.

THE country is well watered, and the land in general fertile, a ſmall proportion towards the ſummit of the iſland excepted, which anſwers however for the growth of ground proviſions, ſuch as yams and other eſculent vegetables. The ſoil is ſtony; the beſt is a looſe black mould, on a clay. In ſome places, the upper ſtratum is a ſtiff clay, which requires labour, but properly divided and pulveriſed, repays the labour beſtowed upon it. The general produce of ſugar (its only ſtaple production) is one hogſhead of ſixteen cwt. *per* acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4,000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogſheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the taxes. As at St. Chriſtopher's the planters ſeldom cut ratoon canes.

THIS iſland, ſmall as it is, is divided into five pariſhes. It contains a town called Charles-Town, the ſeat of government and a port of entry, and there are two other ſhipping places, called Indian-Caſtle and New-Caſtle. The principal fortification is at Charles-Town, and is called Charles Fort. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a ſalary from the iſland.

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THE government, in the abſence of the Governor-General, is adminiſtered by the preſident of the council. This board is compoſed of the preſident, and ſix other members. The houſe of aſſembly conſiſts of fifteen repreſentatives; three for each pariſh.

THE adminiſtration of common law is under the guidance of a chief juſtice, and two aſſiſtant judges, and there is an office for the regiſtry of deeds.

THE preſent number of white inhabitants is ſtated to me not to exceed ſix hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thouſand; a diſproportion which neceſſarily converts all ſuch white men as are not exempted by age or decrepitude, into a well-regulated militia, among which there is a troop conſiſting of fifty horſe, well mounted and accoutred. Engliſh forces, on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, they have none.

THE Engliſh firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves in this iſland in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different claſſes of men, who ſought to improve their fortunes in St. Chriſtopher's by the patronage of that enterpriſing leader, it can hardly be preſumed, that every individual experienced the full gratification of his hopes and expectations. In all ſocieties, there are many who will conſider themſelves unjuſtly overlooked and

and forgotten. Of the companions of Warner's earlieſt voyages, it is probable that ſome would ſet too high a value on their ſervices, and of thoſe who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arrival, that the beſt lands were pre-occupied. To ſoften and temper ſuch diſcordancy and diſquiet, by giving full employment to the turbulent and ſeditious, ſeems to have been one of the moſt important objects of Warner's policy. Motives of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at ſo early a period; and the wiſdom and propriety of his firſt regulations gave ſtrength and ſtability to the ſettlement.

WHAT Warner began wiſely, was happily completed by his immediate ſucceſſor Mr. Lake, under whoſe adminiſtration Nevis roſe to opulence and importance. "He was a wiſe man," ſays Du Tertre, "and feared the Lord." Making this iſland the place of his reſidence, it flouriſhed beyond example. It is ſaid, that about the year 1640, it poſſeſſed four thouſand whites: ſo powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable ſyſtem of government! Will the reader pardon me, if I obſerve at the ſame time, that few ſituations in life could have afforded greater felicity than that of ſuch a governor. Living amidſt the beauties of an eternal ſpring, beneath a ſky ſerene and unclouded,

BOOK III.

ed, and in a ſpot inexpreſſively beautiful (for it is enlivened by a variety of the moſt enchanting proſpects in the world, in the numerous iſlands which ſurround it) but above all, happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, adminiſtered to the neceſſities, and augmented the comforts of thouſands of his fellow-creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector. If there be pure joy on earth, it muſt have exiſted in the boſom of ſuch a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude, and approbation towards him in every countenance, and whoſe heart at the ſame time told him that he deſerved it.

I AM ſorry that I muſt preſent the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am now to give of Antigua.

## SECTION III.

## ANTIGUA.

ANTIGUA is ſituated about twenty leagues to the eaſtward of St. Chriſtopher's, and was diſcovered at the ſame time with that iſland, by Columbus himſelf, who named it, from a church in Seville, *Santa Maria de la Antigua*.

We

We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was *Jamaica*. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that this word, which in the language of the larger iſlands ſignified a country *abounding in ſprings*, ſhould, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an iſland that has not a ſingle ſpring or rivulet of freſh water in it.

THIS inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for ſome time the European adventurers in the neighbouring iſlands from attempting a permanent eſtabliſhment in Antigua; but nature preſents few obſtacles which the avarice or induſtry of civilized man will not endeavour to ſurmount. The lands were found to be fertile, and it was diſcovered that ciſterns might be contrived to hold rain-water *(c)*. So early as 1632, a few Engliſh families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among theſe was a ſon of Sir Thomas Warner, whoſe deſcendants ſtill poſſeſs very conſiderable property in the iſland, one of them (Aſhton Warner, Eſquire) having been, in 1787, preſident of the council, and commander in chief in the abſence of the governor.

BUT the ſettlement was nearly ſtrangled in its

*(c)* The water thus preſerved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholeſome.

infancy.

BOOK III.

infancy. In 1666, a French armament from Martinico, co-operating with a body of Charaibes, invaded the iſland, and ravaged the country with fire and ſword. All the negroes that could be found, were taken away; and the inhabitants, after beholding their houſes and eſtates in flames, were plundered even to the clothes on their backs and the ſhoes on their feet, without regard to ſex or age.

Its recovery from this calamity was owing chiefly to the enterpriſing ſpirit and extenſive views of Colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes. This gentleman removing to Antigua about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in ſugar-planting with ſuch good effect and ſucceſs, that others, animated by his example, and aſſiſted by his advice and encouragement, adventured in the ſame line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was ſome years afterwards nominated captain-general and commander in chief of all the leeward Charaibean iſlands, and, deriving from this appointment, the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purpoſes, had ſoon the happineſs of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wiſdom, in the flouriſhing condition of the ſeveral iſlands under his government.

The proſperity of Antigua was manifeſted in its extenſive population; for when, in the year 1690, General Codrington commanded on the expedition

expedition againſt the French inhabitants of St. Chriſtopher's, as hath been related in the hiſtory of that iſland, Antigua furniſhed towards it no leſs than eight hundred effective men: a quota, which gives room to eſtimate the whole number of its white inhabitants at that time, at upwards of five thouſand.

Mr. Codrington dying in 1698, was ſucceeded in his government by his ſon Chriſtopher; a gentleman eminently diſtinguiſhed for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the ſame paths as his illuſtrious father, gave the people under his government the promiſe of a long continuance of felicity *(d)*. His adminiſtration, however, terminated at the end of ſix years; for in 1704 he was ſuperſeded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying ſoon after his arrival, the Queen was pleaſed to appoint to the government of this and the neighbouring iſlands, Daniel Park, Eſq; a man whoſe tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furniſhed a leſſon for hiſtory to perpetuate, I ſhall be excuſed

*(d)* He was the author, if I miſtake not, of a copy of verſes prefixed to Garth's Diſpenſary, in which is this beautiful triplet:

> I read thee over with a lover's eye:
> Thou haſt no faults, or I no faults can ſpy;
> Thou art all beauty;—or all blindneſs I.

for

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for entering somewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

Mr. Park was a native of Virginia, and was distinguished for his successes at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then desert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being prosecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage, of the Duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attended the Duke as one of his aides-de-camp, and as such, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been sent by his Grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thousand guineas, and her picture richly set with diamonds. The year following, the government of the Leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park, through the interest of his noble patron, was appointed to succeed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July 1706.

As he was a native of America, and his interest

tereſt with the Britiſh adminiſtration was believed to be conſiderable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Iſlands, who were probably unacquainted with his private character, received him with ſingular reſpect, and the aſſembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal inſtruction, added a thouſand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expreſſed in the vote, to relieve him from the expence of houſe-rent; a proviſion which, I believe, has been continued ever ſince to his ſucceſſors in the government.

THE return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindneſs, was an avowed and unreſtrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man; and it was ſoon obſerved of him, as it had formerly been of another deteſtable tyrant, *that he ſpared no man in his anger, nor woman in his luſt.* One of his firſt enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Cheſter, who was factor to the royal African company, and the moſt conſiderable merchant in the iſland. Apprehending that the injured huſband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery; for Cheſter having about this time had the misfortune to kill a perſon by accident, his excellency, who had raiſed a common ſoldier to the office of provoſt-marſhal, brought him to a trial

a trial for his life; directing his inſtrument the provoſt-marſhal, to impanel a jury of certain perſons, from whom he doubted not to obtain Cheſter's conviction; and the execution of this innocent and injured man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overborne; ſo that the jury were compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

ANOTHER of his exploits was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the iſland of Barbuda (of which they had held peaceable poſſeſſion for thirty years) by calling on them to prove their title before himſelf and his council; a meaſure which gave every proprietor reaſon to apprehend that he had no ſecurity for his poſſeſſions but the governor's forbearance.

HE declared that he would ſuffer no provoſt-marſhal to act, who ſhould not at all times ſummon ſuch juries as he ſhould direct. He changed the mode of electing members to ſerve in the aſſembly, in order to exclude perſons he did not like; and not being able by this meaſure to procure an aſſembly to his wiſh, he refuſed to call them together even when the French threatened an invaſion.

HE entered the houſe of Mr. Cheſter, the perſon before mentioned, with an armed force, and ſeized ſeveral gentlemen (ſome of them the

§ principal

principal men of the iſland) who were there met for the purpoſe of good fellowſhip, on ſuſpicion that they were concerting meaſures againſt himſelf; moſt of whom he ſent by his own authority to the common jail, and kept them there without bail or trial.

By theſe, and a thouſand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party againſt him, and diſpatched an agent to England to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting, in the firſt inſtance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the buſineſs, the people loſt all temper, and began to conſider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the laſt of which he was grievouſly, but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily the furious and exaſperated ſtate of men's minds admitted of no compromiſe, and the raſh impetuous governor was not of a diſpoſition to ſoften or conciliate, if occaſion had offered.

At length, however, inſtructions came from the crown, directing Mr. Park to reſign his command to the lieutenant-governor, and return to England by the firſt convenient opportunity; at the ſame time commiſſioners were appointed to take examinations on the ſpot, concerning the complaints which had been urged againſt his conduct.

conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their ſucceſs with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifeſted, on receipt of the Queen's orders, provoked the governor into deſperation. He declared that he would continue in the government in ſpite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ſhip was about to ſail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked, he refuſed to leave the country. In the meanwhile, to convince the people that his firmneſs was unabated, and that he ſtill conſidered himſelf in the rightful exerciſe of his authority, he iſſued a proclamation to diſſolve the aſſembly.

MATTERS were now coming faſt to an iſſue. The aſſembly continued ſitting notwithſtanding the governor's proclamation, and reſolved, that having been recalled by his ſovereign, his continuance in the government was uſurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the ſafety and peace of the iſland. On hearing of this vote, the governor ſecretly ordered a party of ſoldiers to ſurround them; but the aſſembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately ſeparated to provide for their perſonal ſafety. The enſuing night, and the whole of the following day, were employed in ſummoning the inhabitants from all parts of the iſland, to haſten to the capital, properly armed,

armed, to protect their representatives. It was given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended, was to secure his person, and send him from the island.

On Thursday the 7th of December 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of Saint John's, where Colonel Park had been making provision for resistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants however, his courage deserted him. The sight of an injured people, coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour, to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, overwhelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized, that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to concession. He dispatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the assembly at Parham, and to consent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the safety of his person.

BOOK III. person. The speaker of the assembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, seemed inclined to a compromise, and proposed themselves as two of the hostages required by the governor; but the general body of the people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and instantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the assembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. The fire was briskly returned for a considerable time, but at length the assailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the same moment, a wound which laid him prostrate. His attendants, seeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, seizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the street. Besides the governor, an ensign and thirteen private soldiers, who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. Of the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

THUS

Thus perifhed, in a general infurrection of an infulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious defpot, than whom no ftate criminal was ever more defervedly punifhed. He was a monfter in wickednefs, and being placed by his fituation beyond the reach of ordinary reftraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means poffible, as it would have been to fhoot a wild beaft that had broke its limits, and was gorging itfelf with human blood. "The people of England," fays an eminent writer *(e)*, "heard with aftonifhment of Park's untimely fate; but the publick were divided in their fentiments; fome looking upon his death as an act of rebellion againft the crown, and others confidering it as a facrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compaffion for the man, at laft got the better." In the latter affertion however, the writer is clearly miftaken; for the Englifh government, after full inveftigation, was fo thoroughly fatisfied of Mr. Park's mifconduct, as to iffue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all perfons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted fome time afterwards to feats in the council.

From this period I clofe my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence

*(e)* Univerfal Hiftory, vol. XLI.

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in its ſubſequent hiſtory of ſufficient importance to detain the reader; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found correct.

ANTIGUA is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of ſugar, and paſturage annexed: its other principal ſtaples are cotton-wool and tobacco; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed; and they raiſe in favourable years great quantities of proviſions.

THIS iſland contains two different kinds of ſoil; the one a black mould on a ſubſtratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by exceſſive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly ſubject, very productive. The other is a ſtiff clay on a ſubſtratum of marl. It is much leſs fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradicable kind of graſs, in ſuch a manner, that many eſtates conſiſting of that kind of ſoil, which were once very profitable, are now ſo impoveriſhed and overgrown with this ſort of graſs, as either to be converted into paſture land, or to become entirely abandoned. Excluſive of ſuch deſerted land, and a ſmall part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the iſland may be ſaid to be under cultivation.

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CHAP. IV.

FROM the circumſtances that have been related, it is difficult to furniſh an average return of the crops, which vary to ſo great a degree, that the quantity of ſugar exported from this iſland in ſome years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were ſhipped 3,382 hogſheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogſheads, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being deſtroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes muſt have periſhed for want of food, if American veſſels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance *(f)*.

IT ſeems to me on the whole, that the iſland has progreſſively decreaſed both in produce and white population. The laſt accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and ſexes were 2,590, and the enſlaved negroes 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000 hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. are reckoned a good ſaving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogſhead of ſugar *per* acre for each

*(f)* In the year 1789, there was no fall of rain for ſeven months, whereby there was not only no crop of ſugar, but 5,000 head of horned cattle periſhed for want of water.

BOOK III. acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion to its extent, than to any other of the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

ANTIGUA is divided into ſix pariſhes and eleven diſtricts, and contains ſix towns and villages. Saint John's *(g)*, (the capital) Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort; of which, the two firſt are legal ports of entry.—No iſland, in this part of the Weſt Indies, can boaſt of ſo many excellent harbours. Of theſe, the principal are Engliſh harbour and Saint John's, both well fortified, and at the former, the Britiſh government has eſtabliſhed a royal navy-yard and arſenal, and conveniencies for careening ſhips of war.

THE military eſtabliſhment generally conſiſts of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewiſe a ſquadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raiſed in the iſland, and the regulars receive additional pay, as in Jamaica.

IT hath been already obſerved, that the governor or captain-general of the leeward Cha-

*(g)* The town of Saint John was nearly deſtroyed by fire on the 17th of Auguſt 1769; upwards of 260 houſes being conſumed; beſides wharfs, cranes, &c. &c.

raibean

raibean iſlands, although directed by his inſtructions to viſit occaſionally each iſland within his government, is generally ſtationary at Antigua: he is chancellor of each iſland by his office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining cauſes from the other iſlands, preſides alone. In cauſes ariſing in Antigua, he is aſſiſted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the aſſembly of this iſland, confirmed by the crown, the preſident and a certain number of the council may determine chancery cauſes during the abſence of the governor-general. The other courts of this iſland are a court of king's-bench, a court of common-pleas, and a court of exchequer.

THE legiſlature of Antigua is compoſed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an aſſembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour that it preſented the firſt example to the ſiſter iſlands of a melioration of the criminal law reſpecting negroe ſlaves, by giving the accuſed party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the caſe of capital convictions four days between the time of ſentence and execution. And it is ſtill more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the pureſt and beſt motives, to

BOOK III. enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the ſlave-trade, is an account of the labours of the ſociety known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum*, (commonly called *Moravians*) in this truly glorious purſuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this buſineſs diſplays ſuch ſound judgment, breathes ſuch a ſpirit of genuine chriſtianity, and has been attended with ſuch eminent ſucceſs, as to entitle its brethren and miſſionaries to the moſt favourable reception, from every man whom the accidents of fortune have inveſted with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow-creatures, and of equal importance with himſelf in the eyes of an all-ſeeing and impartial governor of the univerſe. With an abridgment of that account, I ſhall cloſe the ſubject of my preſent diſcuſſion.

"THE church of the united brethren have, ever ſince the year 1732, been active in preaching the goſpel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal ſucceſs in all places. The method here deſcribed, and made uſe of by the miſſionaries of the ſaid church, in leading the negro-ſlaves in the Weſt Indies to the knowledge and practice of

of chriſtianity, is followed, in all points that are not local, in all the miſſions of the brethren.

After many years unſucceſsful labour, experience has taught them, that the plain teſtimony concerning the death and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, together with its cauſe and happy conſequences, delivered by a miſſionary touched with an experimental ſenſe of it, is the ſureſt way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards ſtep by ſtep into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extenſive diſcuſſion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite ſpirit, of the holy trinity, &c. nor to ſeek to open their underſtandings in thoſe points, until they believe in Jeſus, and that the word of the croſs has proved itſelf the power of God unto ſalvation, by the true converſion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progreſs of their inſtructions, the miſſionaries endeavour to deliver themſelves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as poſſible; and the Lord has given his bleſſing even to the moſt unlearned, that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, ſo as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty ariſes indeed from the new ideas and words neceſſary to expreſs the divine truths

BOOK III.

to be introduced into them; but even this has been ſurmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of ſin, in any land or place, nor any prevailing cuſtom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of God, given unto all mankind. Upon the fulfilment of this, the miſſionaries inſiſt every where. Every thing that is accounted decent and virtuous among chriſtians, is inculcated into the minds of the people. Drunkenneſs, adultery, whoredom, ſorcery, theft, anger and revenge, and all other works of the fleſh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apoſtles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heatheniſm and idolatry, it follows of courſe, that any one guilty of theſe things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and ſincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away: but it is not ſufficient that the believers abſtain from open ſcandal, their private behaviour in their families, and in every occurrence of life, muſt evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren

have

have miſſions, are ſo much under the influence of their maſters, and of a variety of circumſtances that attend their being ſlaves, that it may perhaps ſeem more difficult to effect a change of cuſtoms and practices, and to enforce a ſteady chriſtian conduct in all caſes amongſt them, than amongſt free heathens; and yet it muſt be owned, to the praiſe of God, that this is viſible at preſent in many thouſand converted negroes.

The miſſionaries, however, have frequent occaſion to ſee with ſorrow, how deeply rooted the habit of ſin, and the tendency to excuſe it, is in the minds of the negroes; who, when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every ſenſual luſt; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to ſuffer the leaſt deviation from the right path, to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before obſerved, that baptiſm is adminiſtered to none, but to ſuch in whom a thorough converſion of heart is already perceivable. As ſoon as they are conſidered as candidates for baptiſm, they are ſubject to the diſcipline of the church, by which, if they offend, and private admonition and reproof have not the deſired effect, they are excluded from the fellowſhip of the reſt, though they may attend publick ſervice, and every means is ſtill faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant,

BOOK III. municant, in caſe of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's ſupper. This diſcipline has, by God's bleſſing, had ſo good an effect, that many a believing negro would rather ſuffer the ſevereſt bodily puniſhment than incur it. If they confeſs their ſins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and, according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the preſence of a part or the whole of the congregation, readmitted to the fellowſhip of the church. The believing negroes are not ſuffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the ſake of feaſting, dancing, gaming, &c. and the uſual plea *of not entering into the ſinful part of theſe diverſions*, is never admitted, inaſmuch as the leaſt ſtep towards vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into groſs ſins. The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is conſidered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jeſus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forſake all ungodlineſs, and devote themſelves unto God; and if they perſiſt in evil ways, the faithfulneſs due to the reſt of the flock on the part of the miſſionaries, demands their ſeparation, leſt they ſeduce others.

The polygamy of the negroes has cauſed no ſmall embarraſſment to the miſſionaries. The following is a ſhort account of the brethren's manner of treating them in this particular: When

When a negro man or woman applies as above deſcribed, to be baptized or received into the congregation, ſtrict enquiry is made concerning every circumſtance attending his or her ſituation and connections in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the queſtion ariſes, how the brethren have to adviſe him in this particular: St. Paul ſays, "if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away," 1 Cor. vii. 12; but again he ſays, "a biſhop muſt be blameleſs, the huſband of one wife," 2 Tim. iii. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy ſcriptures concerning this ſubject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the miſſionaries ſhould keep ſtrictly to the following reſolutions:

I. That they could not compel a man, who had, before his converſion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their conſent.

II. But yet, that they could not appoint ſuch a man to be a helper or ſervant in the church; and,

III. That a man who believeth in Chriſt, if he marry, ſhould take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himſelf only to that woman, till death parts them.

The inſtances that a man has three wives are

BOOK III.

are few; all miſtreſſes muſt of courſe be put away without exception; beſides this, the miſſionaries loſe no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this ſtate conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is ſeverely cenſured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives beſides the firſt, or in caſe he has had two, and one dies, and he ſhould marry another, he is excluded the fellowſhip of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heatheniſh cuſtoms in courting a wife, but they expect, that in caſe a believer wiſh to marry, he do all things in a decent and chriſtian manner: it is of courſe expected that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, ſhewing them a good example. If by a ſale of negroes by auction, or in any other way, wives are torn from their huſbands, or huſbands from their wives, and carried off to diſtant iſlands, though the brethren do not adviſe, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another perſon, eſpecially, if a family of young children, or other circumſtances, ſeem to render an helpmate neceſſary; and, as is moſtly the caſe, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptiſm is given to every baptized negro, that muſt thus leave the congregation; and

§ there

CHAP. IV.

there have been inſtances that by their godly walk and converſation in diſtant parts, they have cauſed others to hearken to their word and believe.

THOUGH all the above injunctions are of ſuch a nature, that they not only war againſt their heatheniſh propenſities, but even againſt what ſome might call excuſable indulgencies; yet it is a fact, that at this preſent time, ſome thouſand negroes in Antigua, and other iſlands, ſubmit to them with willingneſs.

THE number of converted Negro ſlaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was,

| | |
|---|---|
| In Antigua, exactly - - - - | 5,465 |
| In St. Kitt's, a new miſſion - - | 80 |
| In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about - | 100 |
| In St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, about - - - - | 10,000 |
| In Surinam, about - - - - | 400 |
| Still living in the Weſt Indies and Surinam - - - - - - | 16,045 |

as nearly as can be aſcertained from the lateſt accounts."

## SECTION IV.

# MONTSERRAT.

OF this little iſland, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious diſcuſſion. It was diſcovered at the ſame time with St. Chriſtopher's, and derived its name from a ſuppoſed reſemblance which Columbus perceived in the face of the country, to a mountain of the ſame name near Barcelona.

THE name was all that was beſtowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was firſt planted by a ſmall colony from St. Chriſtopher's, detached in 1632 from the adventurers under Warner. Their ſeparation appears indeed to have been partly occaſioned by local attachments and religious diſſenſions; which rendered their ſituation in St. Chriſtopher's uneaſy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romiſh perſuaſion. The ſame cauſes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for ſo many perſons of the ſame country and religion adventured thither ſoon after the firſt ſettlement, as to create a white population which it has ever ſince

ſince poſſeſſed; if it be true, as aſſerted by Oldmixon, that at the end of ſixteen years there were in the iſland upwards of one thouſand white families, conſtituting a militia of three hundred and ſixty effective men.

The civil hiſtory of this little iſland contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and ſuffered ſo much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inſerted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the damages; which, however, were not made good to the ſufferers. It was again invaded, and with moſt of the other iſlands captured by the French in the late war, and reſtored with the reſt.

Nothing therefore remains but to furniſh the reader with an account of its preſent ſtate in reſpect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

Montserrat is about three leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and is ſuppoſed to contain about thirty thouſand acres of land, of which almoſt two-thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In ſugar, ſix thouſand acres: In cotton, proviſions, and paſturage, two thouſand each. None other of the tropical ſtaples are raiſed. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were 2,737 hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen hundred weight, 1,107 puncheons of Rum, and

275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be ſeen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thouſand three hundred whites, and about ten thouſand negroes.

THE government is adminiſtered in this, as in the other iſlands, by a legiſlature of its own, under the captain general. The council conſiſts of ſix members, and the aſſembly of eight, two from each of the four diſtricts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montſerrat contributes to the ſalary of the captain general is £. 400 *per annum*.

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SECTION V.

## VIRGIN ISLANDS.

OF the Virgin Iſlands I have ſo few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuſe me of inattention or idleneſs in my reſearches. I have, however, ſolicited information of thoſe who I thought were moſt likely to afford it; but if my enquiries were not ſlighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late

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late hiſtorical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief juſtice of theſe iſlands, I find but little of which I can avail myſelf. It furniſhes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is ſilent as to the number of their preſent Engliſh inhabitants. The author is even miſinformed as to the origin of their preſent name; for he ſuppoſes that it was beſtowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that theſe iſlands were named Las Virgines, by Columbus himſelf, who diſcovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation in alluſion to the well-known legend in the Romiſh ritual of the 11,000 virgins.

The Spaniards of thoſe days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century afterwards (1596) they were viſited by the earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto Rico; and the hiſtorian of that voyage, whoſe narrative is preſerved in Hakluyt's collection, calls them "a knot of little iſlands wholly "uninhabited, ſandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty iſlands, iſlots, and keys, and they are divided at preſent between the Engliſh, the Spaniards, and Danes. The Engliſh hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda *(h)*,

*(h)* This laſt is likewiſe called Penniſton, and corruptly Spaniſh Town. It has two very good harbours.

Jofvan Dykes, Guana Ifle, Beef and Thatch Iflands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Ifland, Peter's Ifland, and feveral others of little value. The Danes poffefs Santa Cruz *(i)*, St. Thomas, with about twelve fmaller iflands dependent thereon, and St. John, which laft is of importance as having the beft harbour of any ifland to the leeward of Antigua, and the Spaniards claim Crab Ifland, the Green or Serpent Ifland, the Tropick Keys, and Great and Little Paffage.

THE firft poffeffors of fuch of thefe iflands as now belong to the Britifh government, were a party of Dutch Bucaniers who fixed themfelves at Tortola about the year 1648, and built a fort there for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a ftronger party of the fame adventurers, who, calling themfelves Englifh, pretended to take poffeffion for the crown of England, and the Englifh monarch, if he did not commiffion the enterprize, made no fcruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were foon afterwards annexed to the

*(i)* Ste. Croix, or Santa Cruz, belonged originally to the French, and was fold by them to the Danes, in 1733, for the fum of 75,000 *l.* Its inhabitants are chiefly Englifh, and the lands being exceedingly fertile, the produce of this little ifland (moft of which I believe is fmuggled into Great Britain as the produce of Tortola) is very confiderable, particularly fugar.

Leeward Iſland government, in a commiſſion granted by King Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the Engliſh title has remained unimpeached from that time to this.

The Dutch had made but little progreſs in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its ſubſequent improvements was reſerved for ſome Engliſh ſettlers from the little iſland of Anguilla, who, about a century paſt, embarked with their families and ſettled in the Virgin Iſlands. Their wants were few, and their government ſimple and unexpenſive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themſelves, exerciſed both the legiſlative and judicial authority, determining, in a ſummary manner, without a jury, all queſtions between ſubject and ſubject; and as to taxes, there ſeem to have been none laid: when money was abſolutely neceſſary for publick uſe, it was raiſed, I believe, by voluntary contribution.

Under ſuch a ſyſtem, it was impoſſible that the colony could attain to much importance. It wanted the advantage of Engliſh capitals; but credit is ſparingly given where payment cannot eaſily be enforced. The inhabitants therefore, whoſe numbers in 1756, amounted to 1,263 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reaſonably hoped to be put on the ſame footing with the ſiſter iſlands,

BOOK III. islands, by the eſtabliſhment of a perfect civil government, and conſtitutional courts of juſtice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year, they preſented an humble petition to the captain-general of the Leeward Iſland government, requeſting his excellency to unite with them in an application to his Majeſty, for permiſſion to elect an aſſembly of repreſentatives out of the freeholders and planters, in order that ſuch aſſembly, with the governor and council, might frame proper laws for their peace, welfare, and good government; *pledging themſelves, in that caſe, to grant to his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, an impoſt of four and a half per centum, in ſpecie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of theſe iſlands, ſimilar to that which was paid in the other Leeward Iſlands.*

Their application (thus ſweetened) proved ſucceſsful. It was ſignified to them that his Majeſty, fully conſidering the perſons, circumſtances, and condition of his ſaid Virgin Iſlands, and the neceſſity there was, from the then ſtate of their culture and inhabitancy, that ſome adequate and perfect form of civil government ſhould be eſtabliſhed therein; "and finally truſting that his "faithful ſubjects in his ſaid Virgin Iſlands, who "ſhould compoſe the new aſſembly, would, as "the firſt act of legiſlation, cheerfully make

" good the engagement of granting to his Majesty, his heirs and succeſſors, the impoſt of " four and a half *per centum* on all the produce " of the Virgin Iſlands, to be raiſed and paid in " the ſame manner as the four and a half *per* " *centum* is made payable in the other *Leeward* " *Iſlands*," did cauſe his royal pleaſure to be ſignified to the governor in chief, that he ſhould iſſue writs in his Majeſty's name, for convening an aſſembly or houſe of repreſentatives, who, together with a council, to be compoſed of twelve perſons, to be appointed by the governor for that purpoſe, might frame and paſs ſuch laws as ſhould be neceſſary for the welfare and good government of the ſaid Iſlands.

Accordingly, on the 30th of November 1773, the governor in chief of the Leeward Iſlands, in obedience to his Majeſty's orders, iſſued a proclamation for convening an aſſembly or houſe of repreſentatives of the Virgin Iſlands, who met on the 1ſt of February following, and very honourably complied with their engagement to the crown; the very firſt act paſſed by them being the grant before mentioned of four and a half *per centum*, on the produce of the colony for ever. They afterwards paſſed a grant of £. 400 currency *per annum*, as their proportion towards the ſalary of the governor-general.

Such was the price at which the Virgin Iſlands purchaſed the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitutional legiſlature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the caſe of Grenada, it may perhaps be ſaid (as I believe the fact was) that the inhabitants of theſe iſlands were unappriſed of the rights which they inherited as Britiſh ſubjects, when they voluntarily propoſed to ſubject themſelves and their poſterity to the tax in queſtion for permiſſion to enjoy them; and their poſterity may perhaps diſpute the authority which their foreſathers exerciſed on this occaſion.

The chief, and almoſt the only ſtaple productions of theſe iſlands are ſugar and cotton, Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either, I have no account, nor can I venture even to gueſs, at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: Tortola itſelf is not more than fifteen miles long, and ſix miles broad: the exports of 1787 will preſently be given, and I have only to add, that they were raiſed by the labour of about one thouſand two hundred whites, and nine thouſand blacks.

HAVING ſo far treated of the ſeveral iſlands which conſtitute what is called the Leeward

ward Iſland Government, as they ſtand diſtinct from each other, I cloſe my account, as in former caſes, with an authentick Table of their Returns for 1787; after which, I ſhall, as propoſed, offer a few obſervations on circumſtances which are common to them all. CHAP. IV.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Veſſels, &c. that have cleared outwards from the Iſlands of St. Chriſtopher's, Montſerrat, Antigua, Nevis, and the Virgin Iſlands, between the 5th January 1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account of their Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

| Whither bound. | SHIPPING. No. | Tonnage | Men. | Sugar. Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Rum. Gallons. | Molaſſes Gallons. | Indigo. lbs. | Cotton. lbs. | Dying Woods, in Value. £. s. d. | Miſcellaneous Articles, in Value. £. s. d. | TOTAL. £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| To Great Britain — — | 53 | 11,992 | 764 | 231,397 2 12 | 78,299 | 8,154 | 318 | 484,640 | 5,824 1 6 | 33,195 16 10 | 480,178 15 5 |
| Ireland — — — | 3 | 350 | 30 | 3,099 — — | 8,500 | — | — | — | — — — | 20 11 — | 6,035 6 — |
| American States — — | 21 | 2,457 | 140 | 386 — — | 167,740 | — | — | — | — — — | 186 10 — | 15,512 15 — |
| Britiſh Colonies in America — | 19 | 1,201 | 110 | 646 — — | 65,000 | — | — | — | — — — | 19 — — | 6,788 10 — |
| Foreign Weſt Indies — — | 104 | 7,155 | 546 | — — — | 15,070 | — | — | — | 165 — — | 15 1 6 | 1,498 14 — |
| Total from St. Chriſtopher's — | 200 | 23,155 | 1,590 | 235,528 2 12 | 334,609 | 8,154 | 318 | 484,640 | 5,989 1 6 | 33,456 19 4 | 510,014 — 5 |
| **ANTIGUA.** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| To Great Britain — — | 65 | 13,806 | 901 | 254,575 1 18 | 128,936 | 3,510 | 26 | 131,010 | 1,742 6 6 | 46,466 18 3 | 484,483 19 6 |
| Ireland — — — | 16 | 1,909 | 159 | 22,295 — — | 97,400 | — | — | 29,500 | 2,400 — — | 43 — — | 50,768 16 8 |
| American States — — | 71 | 8,281 | 552 | 6,779 — — | 375,150 | 1,700 | — | — | — — — | 407 5 — | 44,679 19 2 |
| Britiſh Colonies in America — | 34 | 2,127 | 177 | 844 — — | 109,320 | 700 | — | — | — — — | 14 7 — | 11,031 15 4 |
| Foreign Weſt Indies — — | 47 | 2,540 | 259 | 33 — — | 5,740 | — | — | — | — — — | 1,075 — — | 1,632 5 — |
| Total from Antigua — — | 233 | 28,663 | 2,048 | 284,526 1 18 | 716,546 | 5,910 | 26 | 160,510 | 4,142 6 6 | 48,006 10 3 | 592,596 15 8 |
| **MONTSERRAT AND NEVIS.** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| To Great Britain — — | 23 | 5,371 | 341 | 108,325 — 21 | 4,406 | 1,313 | 140 | 91,972 | 352 7 6 | 1,162 3 2 | 185,709 10 11 |
| American States — — | 20 | 1,850 | 138 | 1,895 — — | 122,710 | — | — | — | — — — | 70 10 — | 13,981 12 6 |
| Britiſh Colonies in America — | 7 | 379 | 40 | 64 — — | 21,300 | — | — | 500 | — — — | 41 6 3 | 2,053 14 3 |
| Foreign Weſt Indies — — | 71 | 3,085 | 377 | — — — | 140,660 | — | — | — | — — — | 89 4 — | 12,396 19 — |
| Africa — — — | 1 | 102 | 8 | | | | | | | | |
| Total from Montſerrat and Nevis | 122 | 10,787 | 904 | 110,284 — 21 | 289,076 | 1,313 | 140 | 92,472 | 352 7 6 | 1,363 3 5 | 214,141 16 8 |
| **VIRGIN ISLANDS.** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| To Great Britain — — | 25 | 5,137 | 344 | 78,749 1 6 | 517 | 2,011 | — | 287,577 | 6,561 2 6 | 2,313 18 5 | 164,128 17 6 |
| American States — — | 3 | 572 | 21 | 91 — — | 13,900 | — | — | 1,500 | — — — | 6 4 — | 1,499 9 — |
| Britiſh Colonies in America — | 4 | 226 | 20 | 363 — — | 7,000 | — | — | — | — — — | 10 5 — | 1,230 15 — |
| Foreign Weſt Indies — — | 8 | 581 | 51 | — — — | — | — | — | — | 90 — — | 10 11 — | 100 11 — |
| Total from the Virgin Iſlands — | 40 | 6,516 | 436 | 79,203 1 6 | 21,417 | 2,011 | — | 289,077 | 6,651 2 6 | 2,340 18 5 | 166,959 12 6 |
| GRAND TOTAL — — | 595 | 69,121 | 4,978 | 709,542 2 1 | 1,361,648 | 17,388 | 484 | 1,026,699 | 17,134 18 — | 85,147 11 5 | 1,483,712 5 3 |

BOOK III.

IN ſurveying theſe iſlands collectively, the circumſtance that firſt preſents itſelf to notice is the burthen of the four and half *per centum* on their exported produce, to which they are all ſubject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own aſſemblies, was in moſt other caſes, as well as the Virgin Iſlands, the price of a conſtitutional legiſlature, and a communication of the common privileges of Britiſh ſubjects.

It would without doubt be ſatisfactory to the reader to be furniſhed with an account of the produce of this duty, and the particulars of its diſpoſal; but no ſuch information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the publick. The laſt return that I am poſſeſſed of, is dated ſo long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on this account, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, in twenty-one years, (from Chriſtmas 1713 to Chriſtmas 1734) amounted to £. 326,529. 2*s.* 3*d*¼. ſterling, of which it is ſhameful to relate that no more than £.140,032. 13*s.* 5*d*½. was paid into the Britiſh Exchequer; upwards of £. 80,000 having been retained in the

the Iſlands for the charges of collecting, and £. 105,000 more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commiſſions, fees of office, and other claims and deductions *(k)*. CHAP. IV.

FROM the net money paid into the exchequer, the Governor General of theſe iſlands receives a ſalary of £. 1,200 ſterling, excluſive of the ſeveral ſums granted him by the colonial aſſemblies *(l)*, and I believe that ſalaries are allowed from the ſame fund to the Lieutenant-General, and the ſeveral Lieutenant Governors. I have been informed too, that the Governors of the Bahama and Bermudas iſlands are likewiſe paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after theſe and ſome other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's diſpoſal.

BUT it is impoſſible not to obſerve, that almoſt all the iſlands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years paſt, progreſſively on the decline; and it is therefore probable that the preſent net produce of this

*(k)* Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

*(l)* Theſe grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's £. 1,000 currency each. Nevis £. 400. Montſerrat £. 400. Virgin Iſlands £. 400. The uſual rate of exchange is 165 *per cent.* Theſe ſums therefore, added to £. 1,200 ſterling, paid out of the exchequer, make his whole ſalary £. 3,000 ſterling *per annum.*

duty

duty is not more than ſufficient to defray the ſeveral incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented, by purchaſe, becauſe, as the lands have become impoveriſhed, they have required a greater expence of labour to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increaſed in the ſame degree, nothing could have ſaved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of ſugar in the markets of Europe.

It appears from authentick accounts laid before parliament, that the import of ſugar into Great Britain from all the Britiſh Weſt Indies (Jamaica excepted) has decreaſed, in the courſe of twenty years from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,563,228 cwt. *(m)*. The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be leſs than £.400,000 ſterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on thoſe iſlands which are ſubject to the duty in queſtion; to the effects of which, therefore, the deficiency muſt be chiefly attributed: for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on induſtry, and a penalty which falls heavieſt on the man who contributes moſt to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues of the mother-country. It is conſidered by the planters as equal to ten

*(m)* Being the average of two periods, the firſt from 1772 to 1775, the ſecond from 1788 to 1792.

per

*per cent.* on the produce of their eſtates for ever. Under ſuch a burthen, which while it oppreſſes the colonies, yields a profit of no great conſideration to the crown, they have been unable to ſtand a competition with the Britiſh planters in the other iſlands, and have been depreſſed ſtill more by the rapid growth and extenſive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the ſpirit of improvement, and much of that land, which, though ſomewhat impoveriſhed by long cultivation, would ſtill, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, becauſe the produce of the pooreſt ſoil is taxed as high as that of the moſt fertile.

To the loſs ariſing from a decreaſe of produce, accompanied with an increaſe of contingent expences, muſt be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages ſuſtained in St. Chriſtopher's alone, by *De Graſſe's* invaſion in 1782, from the deſtruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were eſtimated at £. 160,000 ſterling, which ſum was made up to the ſufferers by a poll-tax on the ſlaves, of no leſs than forty ſhillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the iſlands, are alſo exceedingly burthenſome; beſides pariſh taxes

taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor.

But, under all these and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother-country, must fill every reflecting mind with surprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning, the vast importance to Great Britain of having sugar islands of her own. At the same time, it is both amusing and instructive to consider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors; or rather it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, similar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gilbert,

bert, and it is a lamentable diſplay of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the ſagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the ſame folly! Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wiſe enough to acknowledge that gold and ſilver have only an artificial and relative value; that induſtry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great ſources of national proſperity.

THE produce of theſe iſlands however, though of ſuch value to the mother-country, is raiſed at an expence to the cultivator, which perhaps is not equalled in any other purſuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expence too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other; owing to calamities, to which theſe countries are expoſed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the ſelfiſh or miſtaken policy of man is ſometimes more deſtructive than even the anger of Omnipotence!

AT the time that I write this, (1791) the humanity of the Britiſh nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious diſtreſſes of the African labourers in theſe and the other iſlands of the Weſt Indies: and the holders and employers of thoſe people ſeem to be marked out to the publick indignation for proſcription and ruin. So ſtrong and univerſal a ſympathy allows no room for the ſober exerciſe of reaſon, or it

BOOK III.

would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race, muſt depend greatly on the condition and circumſtances of their owners. Oppreſſion towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the maſter, will exterminate the ſlave.

The propriety of theſe remarks will be ſeen in ſubſequent parts of my work, when I come in courſe to treat of the ſlave trade and ſlavery; and to conſider the commercial ſyſtem of Great Britain towards her Weſt Indian dependencies, of which I have now completed the catalogue. Here then I might cloſe the third book of my hiſtory; but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of *Bahama* and *Bermudas* (n); to which indeed it was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a diſtinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpoſe; finding myſelf poſſeſſed of ſcarce any memorials concerning the civil hiſtory of thoſe iſlands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatiſes with which the ſhelves of the bookſellers are loaded. Of the *preſent* ſtate of the Bahama iſlands, I need not be aſhamed to

(n) I have alſo paſſed over unnoticed the ſmall iſlands of Anguilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular deſcription. The former belongs to the Leeward Iſland government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

acknowledge

acknowledge my ignorance, inaſmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations, were unable to obtain ſatisfactory information concerning it. To their lordſhips enquiries, in 1789, as to the extent of territory in thoſe iſlands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,—productions and exports, &c. the only anſwer that could be obtained from the Governor was this, *that it was at that time impoſſible to aſcertain any of thoſe particulars.* It appears, however, from the teſtimony of other perſons, that theſe iſlands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 conſiſted of two thouſand and fifty-two whites, and two thouſand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years conſiderably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their preſent numbers no preciſe account is given *(o)*.

(*o*) The Bahama Iſlands, comprehending thoſe which, either from their ſmallneſs, the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or the want of water, are uninhabited, are ſome hundreds in number. They are ſituated between the 22d and 23d degrees of north latitude. The principal of them are Providence (twenty-ſeven miles long and eleven broad), Bahama, Abaco, Harbour Iſland, Eluthera, Exuma, St. Salvadore, Long Iſland, Andros, Bimini, &c. The ſeat of government is at the town of Naſſau in Providence. Vid. vol. i. p. 7.

Concerning Bermudas, Governor Brown is more explicit. From his anſwers to their Lordſhips' queries, it appears that they contain from twelve to thirteen thouſand acres of very poor land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or reſerved in woods for the ſupplying of timber for building ſmall ſhips, ſloops, and ſhallops for ſale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the veſſels which they furniſh, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpenſive.

Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpoſe than that of raiſing Indian corn, and eſculent roots and vegetables (of which a conſiderable ſupply is ſent to the Weſt Indian Iſlands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great ſucceſs, there not being at preſent more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two; of blacks four thouſand nine hundred and nineteen *(p)*.

Thus

*(p)* It were an act of great injuſtice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable teſtimony which Governor Brown has tranſmitted to government, concerning the treatment of their negro ſlaves. "Nothing (he obſerves) can better ſhew the ſtate of ſlavery in Bermudas than the

CHAP. IV.

Thus it appears that the lands become leſs fertile as we recede from the tropicks, and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propenſity in the greater part of mankind, to under-rate what they have in actual poſſeſſion, it would require but little effort to convince the publick of the vaſt importance of our Weſt Indian dependencies; of which the progreſſive growth has now been traced from the firſt ſettlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the Engliſh reader. This then, after taking a curſory ſurvey, for the gratification of curioſity, of the preſent inhabitants and the ſyſtem of agriculture, I ſhall endeavour to accompliſh in the next volume.

the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro ſlaves, who behaved both as ſailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were ſeveral inſtances wherein they had been condemned with the veſſel and ſold, and afterwards found means to eſcape; and through many difficulties and hardſhips returned to their maſters ſervice. In the ſhip Regulator, a privateer, there were ſeventy ſlaves. She was taken and carried into Boſton. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New York. One only was miſſing, who died in the cruize, or in captivity."

Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade. Part III.

# APPENDIX to VOL. I. Nº 1.

Since the Publication of the former Editions of this Work, the following Paper has been laid before the Houſe of Commons.

*An* ACCOUNT *of the Duty of Four and an Half per Centum, ariſing in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, in America, for the Years* 1794, 1795, *and* 1796; *with the Amount of the Charges and Payments to which it is liable, the Net Proceeds thereof, with the Payments into the Exchequer by the Receiver General of the Cuſtoms.*

| Years. | Groſs Receipt by the Huſband ariſing from Produce conſigned to him. | Receipt in the Plantations in lieu of Produce. | Total Receipt. | Charges paid by the Huſband. | | | | | Total of Charges. | Net Proceeds. | Payments by Receiver General into the Exchequer. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Duties, Freight, &c. &c. | Annuities. | Salaries to Plantation Officers. | Charges of Management in the Plantations. | Payments by Receiver General. | | | |
| | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| 1794 | 70,230 1 2 | 7,480 — 9¼ | 77,710 1 11¼ | 27,979 8 9 | 1,586 — 1 | 1,792 15 10 | 4,841 5 1 | 380 | 36,579 9 9 | 41,130 12 2¼ | 43,881 15 4½ |
| 1795 | 62,800 6 — | 6,921 16 4 | 69,722 2 4 | 18,956 18 4 | 6,200 — — | 1,786 16 7 | 4,619 2 11½ | 380 | 31,942 17 10½ | 37,779 4 5½ | 34,176 3 10¾ |
| 1796 | 57,665 1 9 | 14,907 12 8 | 72,572 14 5 | 17,010 15 3 | 4,500 — — | 899 3 1 | 4,747 1 4¾ | 380 | 27,536 19 8¾ | 45,035 14 8¼ | 39,032 8 1½ |
| Total | 190,695 8 11 | 29,309 9 9¼ | 220,004 18 8¼ | 63,947 2 4 | 12,286 — 1 | 4,478 15 6 | 14,207 9 5¼ | 1,140 | 96,059 7 4¼ | 123,945 11 4 | 117,090 7 4¾ |

*Note.*—The Difference between the Net Proceeds and the Payments ariſes either from Monies having been remitted due on former Years, or from Bills remitted from the Weſt Indies not having been paid within the Year, as was particularly the Caſe in the Year 1796.

Cuſtom Houſe, London,
17th March 1798.

*J. Mills,*
for the Rec^r General.

*Tho^s Porter,*
pro Compt^r Gen^l.

*Jas Newey,*
Inſpector and Exam^r of Plant^n Coll^rs Acc^ts.

*Wm Lawleſs,*
Acting Huſband of the Duty of 4½ per Cent.

*P. Gregory,*
Compt^r of D^o.

An ACCOUNT of the ſeveral Charges upon the FUND, ariſing by the Duties of Four Pounds and One Half Pound *per Centum* during the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796, paid at the Exchequer.

| SALARIES and PENSIONS paid at the Exchequer. | 1794. £. | s. | d. | 1795. £. | s. | d. | 1796. £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Governors of Barbadoes - - - - | 2,000 | — | — | 2,000 | — | — | 2,000 | — | — |
| Bahama Iſlands - - | 700 | — | — | 700 | — | — | 700 | — | — |
| Bermuda - - - - | 750 | — | — | 750 | — | — | 750 | — | — |
| Leeward Iſlands - - | 1,200 | — | — | 1.200 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — |
| Tobago - - - - | 1,300 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — | 1,500 | — | — |
| Grenada - - - - | 1,364 | — | — | 1,364 | — | — | 1,364 | — | — |
| Dominica - - - - | 1,300 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — |
| St. Vincent's - - - | 1,300 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — | 1,300 | — | — |
| Lieut. Governors of Leeward Iſlands | 300 | — | — | 300 | — | — | 300 | — | — |
| Tortola - - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| Antigua - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| Nevis - - - | 300 | — | — | 300 | — | — | 300 | — | — |
| Montſerrat - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| St. Kitts - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| Grenada - - - | 600 | — | — | 600 | — | — | 600 | — | — |
| Dominica - - | 400 | — | — | 400 | — | — | 400 | — | — |
| Agents of Grenada - - - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| Turks Iſland - - - | 100 | — | — | 100 | — | — | 100 | — | — |
| Auditor General of Plantations - - | 250 | — | — | 250 | — | — | 250 | — | — |
| Chief Juſtice of Virgin Iſlands - - | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — | 200 | — | — |
| Governor of the Bahama Iſlands to make up the Deficiencies of his Fees at £. 500 per Annum - | 328 | 4 | 1 | 244 | 17 | 10 | 208 | 8 | 6 |
| Governor of Barbadoes for his Services - - - - - | 1,500 | — | — | | | | | | |
| Governor of Martinico for his Outfit | — | | — | 1,500 | — | — | | | |
| D° - - - - - his Salary | — | | — | 1,922 | 4 | 5½ | 1,977 | 15 | 6¾ |
| Counteſs Dowager of Chatham, John Earl of Chatham, and the Right Honourable William Pitt, during their Lives, ſeverally and ſucceſſively - - - - - | 3,000 | — | — | 3,000 | — | — | 3,000 | — | — |
| Repreſentatives of the Earl of Kinnoul (Perpetuity) - - - | 1,000 | — | — | 1,000 | — | — | 1,000 | — | — |
| Carried forward - £. | 18,892 | 4 | 1 | 20,731 | 2 | 3½ | 19,250 | 4 | ¾ |

*(continued.)*

| SALARIES and PENSIONS paid at the Exchequer. | 1794. | 1795. | 1796. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| Brought forward - £. | 18,892 4 1 | 20,731 2 3½ | 19,250 4 — ¾ |
| Henry Strachey, Esq. late Secretary to the Commission for restoring Peace in North America, during Life - - - - - | 587 — — | 587 — — | 587 — — |
| Henry Ellis, Esq. late Governor of Georgia and Nova Scotia, during Pleasure - - - - | 300 — — | 300 — — | 300 — — |
| Mary Elliott, Widow of Grey Elliott, Esq. late additional Clerk in Ordinary of the Office of Trade and Foreign Plantations - - | 100 — — | 100 — — | 100 — — |
| Susannah Monckton, Widow of the late Gen[l] Monckton - } D[o] | 100 — — | 100 — — | 100 — — |
| Peter Livius, Esq. formerly Chief Justice of Canada - - - | 750 — — | 222 5 10½ | Ceased. |
| Josiah Henry Martin - } Children of the late Josiah Martin Esq. Governor of North Carolina - | 150 — — | 150 — — | 150 — — |
| Mary Martin } Children of the late Josiah Martin Esq. Governor of North Carolina - | 50 — — | 50 — — | 50 — — |
| Sarah Martin } Children of the late Josiah Martin Esq. Governor of North Carolina - | 50 — — | 50 — — | 50 — — |
| Alice Martin } Children of the late Josiah Martin Esq. Governor of North Carolina - | 50 — — | 50 — — | 50 — — |
| Henry Pelham, Esq. late a Commissioner of Customs - - - | 761 — — | 761 — — | 761 — — |
| Fredeswed Savory } Children of George Bruyere, Esq. late Gov[r] of Bermuda. - | 40 — — | 40 — — | 40 — — |
| Charlotte Todd - } Children of George Bruyere, Esq. late Gov[r] of Bermuda. - | 30 — — | 30 — — | 30 — — |
| Frances Tucker - } Children of George Bruyere, Esq. late Gov[r] of Bermuda. - | 30 — — | 30 — — | 30 — — |
| James Craufurd, Esq. late Governor of Bermuda Islands - - - - | — — | — — | 407 10 — |
| Henry Charles Selwyn, Esq. Lieut[t] Gov. of Montserrat - - - | — — | — — | 100 — — |
| | 21,890 4 1 | 23,201 8 2 | 22,005 14 — ¾ |

*Memorandum.*—On the 24th Day of February 1796, the Sum of £ 40,000 was directed to be issued out of the 4½ per Cent. towards defraying the Charges and Expences of His Majesty's Civil Government.

*George Rose.*

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall,
27th April 1798.

# APPENDIX to Vol. I.

## N° 2.

*Observations on the Disposition, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life, of the MAROON NEGROES of the Island of* JAMAICA; *and a Detail of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the late War between those People and the White Inhabitants: first published separately in* 1796.

## SECTION I.

APPENDIX.

JAMAICA, as we have seen, was conquered from the Spaniards, during the protectorate of Cromwell, in the year 1655, by an armament under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. The Spanish inhabitants are said to have possessed, before the attack, about 1,500 enslaved Africans, most of whom, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions to harass the English. Major-general Sedgewick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656) predicts, that these blacks would prove a thorn in the sides of the English. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity; scarce a week passing without their murdering one or more of them; and as the soldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloody-minded.

minded. "Having no moral ſenſe," continues he, "and "not underſtanding what the laws and cuſtoms of civil "nations mean, we know not how to capitulate or treat "with any of them. But be aſſured they muſt either be "deſtroyed, or brought in, upon ſome terms or other; or "elſe they will prove a great diſcouragement to the ſet-"tling the country." What he foretold, ſoon came to paſs. At the latter part of the ſame year (1656) the army gained ſome trifling ſucceſs againſt them; but this was immediately afterwards ſeverely retaliated by the ſlaughter of forty ſoldiers, cut off as they were careleſsly rambling from their quarters. A detachment was immediately ſent in purſuit of the enemy, which came up with and killed ſeven or eight of them; but they ſtill found means to hold out, until being hard preſſed the year following by Colonel D'Oyley, who, by his final overthrow of the Spaniards, had taken from them all hope of future ſuccour from their ancient maſters, they became very much ſtreightened for want of proviſions and ammunition. The main body, under the command of a negro named *Juan de Bolas* (whoſe place of retreat in the pariſh of Clarendon ſtill retains his name) at length ſolicited for peace, and ſurrendered to the Engliſh on terms of pardon and freedom. A large party, however, (who had now acquired the name of Maroons*) remained in their re-

* The word ſignifies, among the Spaniſh Americans, according to Mr. Long, *Hog-hunters*: the woods abounding with the wild boar, and the purſuit of them conſtituting the chief employment of fugitive negroes. *Marráno* is the Spaniſh word for a young pig. The following is the derivation, however, given in the Encyclopédie, article *Maron*: "On appelle *marons*, dans les iſles Françoiſes les nègres fugitifs. Ce terme vient du mot Eſpagnol *Simaran* qui ſignifie un Singe. Les Eſpagnols crurent ne devoir pas faire plus d'honneur à leurs malheureux eſclaves fugitifs, que de les appeller *ſinges*, parcequ'ils ſe retiroient comme ces animaux aux fonds des bois et n'en ſortoient que pour cueillir des fruits qui ſe trouvoient dans les lieux les plus voiſins de leur retrait." The reader will accept which of theſe derivations he likes beſt.

treats

APPENDIX.

treats within the mountains; where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increafe, but, after the ifland became thicker fown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive flaves. At length they grew confident enough of their force to undertake defcents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered, from time to time, without the leaft provocation; and by their barbarities and outrages intimidated the whites from venturing to any confiderable diftance from the fea coaft.

In 1663 the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, iffued a proclamation, offering a full pardon, twenty acres of land, and freedom from all manner of flavery, to each of them who fhould furrender. But I do not find that any of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, or quit their favage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleafed with the more ample range they poffeffed in the woods, where their hunting grounds were not yet encroached upon by fettlements. They took effectual care, indeed, that no fettlement fhould be eftablifhed near them; for they butchered every white family that ventured to feat itfelf any confiderable diftance inland. When the Governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect, Juan de Bolas, who was now made Colonel of the Black Regiment, was fent to endeavour their reduction; but in the profecution of this fervice he fell into an ambufcade, and was cut to pieces. In March, 1664, Captain Colbeck, of the white militia, was employed for the fame purpofe. He went by fea to the north fide; and, having gained fome advantages over the Maroons, he returned with one who pretended to treat for the reft. This embaffy, however, was only calculated to amufe the whites, and gain fome refpite; for the Maroons no fooner found themfelves in a condition to act, and the white inhabitants lulled into fecurity, than they began to renew hoftilities, murdering, as before, every white

white perſon, without diſtinction of ſex or age, who came within their reach.

In this way, they continued to diſtreſs the iſland for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of Aſſembly were paſſed, and at leaſt £.240,000 expended for their ſuppreſſion. In 1730, they were grown ſo formidable, under a very able general, named Cudjoe, that it was found expedient to ſtrengthen the colony againſt them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In the year 1734, Captain Stoddart, who commanded one of theſe parties, projected, and executed with great ſucceſs, an attack of the Maroon windward town, called Nanny, ſituate on one of the higheſt mountains in the iſland. Having provided ſome portable ſwivel guns, he ſilently approached, and reached within a ſmall diſtance of their quarters undiſcovered. After halting, for ſome time, he began to aſcend by the only path leading to their town. He found it ſteep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the paſſage of two perſons abreaſt. However, he ſurmounted theſe obſtacles; and having gained a ſmall eminence, commanding the huts in which the negroes were aſleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the beſt advantage, and fired upon them ſo briſkly, that many were ſlain in their habitations, and ſeveral threw themſelves headlong down the precipice. Captain Stoddart purſued the advantage; killed numbers, took many priſoners, and in ſhort ſo completely deſtroyed, or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the iſland.

About the ſame time another party of the Maroons, having perceived that a body of the militia ſtationed at the barrack of Bagnel's thicket, in St. Mary's pariſh, under the

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the command of Colonel Charlton, ſtrayed heedleſsly from their quarters, and kept no order, formed a project to cut them off, and whilſt the officers were at dinner, attended by a very few of their men, the Maroons ruſhed ſuddenly from the adjacent woods and attacked them. Several pieces were diſcharged, the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to reſcue their officers from deſtruction. The Maroons were repulſed, and forced to take ſhelter in the woods, but the militia did not think fit to purſue them. Some rumours of this ſkirmiſh reached Spaniſh Town, which is diſtant from the ſpot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumſtances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the moſt dreadful alarm, from apprehenſions that the Maroons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayſcough, then commander in chief, participating in the general panick, ordered the trumpets to ſound, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horſe and foot, who went to meet the enemy. On the ſecond day after their departure, they came to a place where, by the fires which remained unextinguiſhed, they ſuppoſed the Maroons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and ſoon after got ſight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, diſpoſed his men for action; but the Maroons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several of them, however, were ſlain in the purſuit, and others made priſoners. Theſe two victories reduced their ſtrength, and filled them with ſo much terror that they never afterwards appeared in any conſiderable body, nor dared to make any ſtand; indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle, but ſkulked about the ſkirts of remote plantations, ſurpriſing ſtragglers, and murdering the whites by two or three at a time, or when they were

too

too few to make any reſiſtance. By night they ſeized the favourable opportunity that darkneſs gave them, of ſtealing into the ſettlements, where they ſet fire to cane-fields and out-houſes, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried the ſlaves into captivity. By this daſtardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite miſchief to the whites, without much expoſing their own perſons to danger, for they always cautiouſly avoided fighting, except with a number ſo diſproportionally inferior to themſelves, as to afford them a pretty ſure expectation of victory. They knew every ſecret avenue of the country; ſo that they could either conceal themſelves from purſuit, or ſhift their ravages from place to place, as circumſtances required. Such were the many diſadvantages under which the Engliſh had to deal with thoſe deſultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who poſſeſſed no plunder to allure or reward the aſſailants; nor had any thing to loſe, except life, and a wild and ſavage freedom.

PREVIOUS to the ſucceſſes above mentioned, the diſtreſs into which the planters were thrown, may be collected from the ſenſe which the legiſlature of Jamaica expreſſed in ſome of their acts. In the year 1733, they ſet forth, that "the Maroons had, within a few years, greatly increaſed, notwithſtanding all the meaſures that had been concerted, and made uſe of, for their ſuppreſſion; in particular, that they had grown very formidable in the North Eaſt, North Weſt, and South Weſtern diſtricts of the iſland, to the great terror of his Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, who had greatly ſuffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations committed by them; that in the pariſhes of Clarendon, St. Ann, St. Elizabeth, Weſtmorland, Hanover, and St. James's, they were conſiderably multiplied, and had large ſettlements among the mountains, and leaſt acceſſible parts; whence they plundered

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dered all around them, and caufed feveral plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his Majefty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and confumption of Britifh manufactures; and to the manifeft weakening, and preventing the further increafe of the ftrength and inhabitants, in the ifland." We may learn from hence, what extenfive mifchief may be perpetrated by the moft defpicable and cowardly enemy. The Affembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty of fubfifting them in the woods for fo long a time as the fervice required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their purfuit, ordered feveral defenfible houfes, or barracks, fortified with baftions, to be erected in different parts, as near as poffible to the enemy's moft favourite haunts: in each of thefe they placed a ftrong garrifon, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. Thefe garrifons were compofed of white and black fhot and baggage negroes, who were all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of ten pounds, the lieutenants each five pounds, and ferjeants four pounds, and privates two pounds per month. They were fubjected to the rules and articles of war; and the whole body put under the Governor's immediate order, to be employed, conjunctly or feparately, as he fhould fee occafion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excurfions from the barracks, fcower the woods and mountains, and deftroy the provifion gardens and haunts of the Maroons; and that they might not return without effecting fome fervice, they were required to take twenty days provifion with them on every fuch expedition. Every barrack *was alfo furnifhed with a pack of dogs, provided by the Churchwardens of the refpective*

Scott sculp.t

PACIFICATION *with the* MAROON NEGROES.

*Drawn from the life by Agostino Brunyas. From an original painting in the possession of Sir W.m Young Bar.t F.R.S.*

*Publish'd 1. Jan.y 1801 by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.*

*respective parishes*; it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding *against surprizes in the night*, but in tracking the enemy.

THIS arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for so many fortresses, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave the Maroons a constant and vigorous annoyance, and in short became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tiresome war.

ABOUT the year 1737, the Assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Maroons. They passed an act for rendering free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some sloops were dispatched to the Mosquito shore; and that number of Indians was brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, besides shoes and other articles. White guides were assigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great sagacity in this service. It was their practice to observe the most profound silence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and when they had once hit upon a track, they were sure to discover the haunt to which it led. They effected considerable service, and were, indeed, the most proper troops to be employed in that species of action, which is known in America by the name of *bush-fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct, and afterwards dismissed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Maroons.

FOR in 1738, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict.

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The white inhabitants wiſhed relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardſhip of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining the army. The Maroons were not leſs anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in, and cloſely beſet on all ſides; their proviſions deſtroyed, and themſelves reduced to ſo miſerable a condition, by famine and inceſſant attacks, that Cudjoe afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be ſtarved, lay violent hands on themſelves, or ſurrender to the Engliſh at diſcretion. The extremity of their caſe, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number was ſuppoſed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have ſubjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land aſſigned to one body of them*, and one thouſand acres to another, which the legiſlature ſecured to them and their poſterity in perpetuity. The Aſſembly, by ſubſequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive ſlaves, to three pounds per head; and they paſſed many other regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchaſing and harbouring negro ſlaves, and for directing in what manner they ſhould be tried in the caſe of felony, and other crimes, committed againſt the whites †, and thus an end was at length

* This was the body that ſettled in Trelawney Town, and are the anceſtors of thoſe who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were thoſe of Accompong Town, Crawford Town, and Nanny Town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number in 1795, was about 1600 men women and children.

† On complaint made, on oath, to a juſtice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatſoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders,

length happily put to this tedious and ruinous conteſt; a conteſt which, while it laſted, ſeemed to portend nothing leſs than the ruin of the whole colony. APPENDIX.

*Articles of pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the firſt,* 1738.

In the name of God, Amen, Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and ſeveral other Negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a ſtate of war and hoſtility, for ſeveral years paſt, againſt our ſovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this iſland; and whereas peace and friendſhip among mankind, and the preventing the effuſion of blood, is agreeable to God, conſonant to reaſon, and deſired by every good man; and whereas his Majeſty, King George the Second, King of Great Bri-

offenders, and to have all perſons brought before him, or ſome other juſtice, that can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for publick trial, the juſtice is to commit the accuſed, unleſs the offence be bailable, and bind over the witneſſes. They are to be tried where the quarter ſeſſions are held, or where parochial buſineſs is uſually tranſacted, in the following manner:—The juſtice is to call in two other juſtices (who muſt attend, or forfeit twenty pounds each), and they are to ſummon fifteen perſons, ſuch as are uſually impanelled to ſerve on juries, to appear at a ſpecified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There muſt be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen perſons ſummoned, the firſt twelve who appear are to compoſe a jury. If the Maroon be found guilty, the juſtices may give ſentence, according to law, of death, tranſportation, publick whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be reſpited until a reaſonable time after delivery; and where ſentence of death or tranſportation ſhall be paſſed (except for rebellious conſpiracies,) execution is to be reſpited until the Governor's pleaſure be ſignified; the juſtices may alſo reſpite the execution of any other ſentence till his pleaſure be known, if they ſee cauſe. Where ſeveral are capitally convicted for the ſame offence, one only is to ſuffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

 tain,

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tain, France and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has, by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles: First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever. Secondly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing northwest from the said Trelawney Town. Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same. Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents,

herents, and people now in ſubjection to him, ſhall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they ſhall think fit, except within three miles of any ſettlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in caſe the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and thoſe of other ſettlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties. Sixthly, That the ſaid Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors, do uſe their beſt endeavours to take, kill, ſuppreſs, or deſtroy, either by themſelves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that ſervice by his excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels whereſoever they be, throughout this iſland, unleſs they ſubmit to the ſame terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors. Seventhly, That in caſe this iſland be invaded by any foreign enemy, the ſaid Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors hereinafter named or to be appointed, ſhall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being ſhall appoint, in order to repel the ſaid invaders with his or their utmoſt force, and to ſubmit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occaſion. Eighthly, That if any white man ſhall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his ſucceſſors, or any of his or their people, they ſhall apply to any commanding officer or magiſtrate in the neighbourhood for juſtice; *and in caſe Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, ſhall do any injury to any white perſon, he ſhall ſubmit himſelf, or deliver up ſuch offenders to juſtice.* Ninthly, That if any negro ſhall hereafter run away from their maſters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they ſhall immediately be ſent back to the chief magiſtrate of the next pariſh where they are taken; and thoſe that bring them are to be ſatisfied for their trouble, as the legiſlature ſhall appoint *. Tenth,

* The Aſſembly granted a premium of thirty ſhillings for each fugitive ſlave returned to his owner by the Maroons, beſides expences.

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That all negroes taken, ſince the raiſing of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, ſhall immediately be returned. Eleventh, That Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors, ſhall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required. Twelfth, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains ſucceeding him, ſhall have full power to inflict any puniſhment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themſelves, death only excepted; in which caſe, if the Captain thinks they deſerve death, he ſhall be obliged to bring them before any juſtice of the peace, who ſhall order proceedings on their trial equal to thoſe of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, ſhall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Weſtmorland and St. James's, and if poſſible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, ſhall conſtantly live and reſide with Captain Cudjoe and his ſucceſſors, in order to maintain a friendly correſpondence with the inhabitants of this iſland. Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe ſhall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town; after his deceaſe the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong; and in caſe of his deceaſe, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee ſhall ſucceed; who is to be ſucceeded by Captain Quaco; and after all their demiſes, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, ſhall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

In teſtimony, &c. &c.

## SECTION II.

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THE preceding Section confifts chiefly of an extract from the Hiftory of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Efq. publifhed in 1774, whofe account I have chofen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own, for two reafons; firft, becaufe I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has fo diftinctly related; and, fecondly, becaufe its adoption exempts me from all fufpicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to juftify certain circumftances and tranfactions, of which complaint was lately made in the Britifh Parliament*, and to which due attention fhall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile, I fhall take up and continue the fubject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with fome reflections on the fituation, character, manners and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the caufe of their late revolt to its origin.

THE claufe in the treaty, by which thefe people were compelled to refide within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehenfion that, by fuffering them to intermix with the negroes in flavery, the example which they would thereby continually prefent of fuccefsful hoftility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the flaves an impatience of fubordination, and a difpofition for revolt; but time has abundantly proved that it was an

* March 1796.

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ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons, inſtead of being eſtabliſhed into ſeparate hordes or communities, in the ſtrongeſt parts of the interior country, ſhould have been encouraged by all poſſible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All diſtinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would ſoon have been loſt; for the greater number would have prevailed over the leſs: whereas the policy of keeping them a diſtinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an *eſprit de corps*, or a community of ſentiments and intereſts; and concealing from them the powers and reſources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the ſame time highly to overvalue, their own relative ſtrength and importance.

It has been urged againſt the colonial legiſlature, as another, and a ſtill greater, overſight, that after the concluſion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of theſe ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of *Superintendant*, it has been ſaid, and I believe truly, was commonly beſtowed on perſons of no education or conſequence, and ſoon became a mere *ſinecure*. Mr. Long obſerved, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better ſubjects, if pains were taken to inſtil into their minds a few notions of honeſty and religion; and the eſtabliſhment of ſchools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the towns, were recommended as meaſures of indiſpenſible neceſſity.

That theſe obſervations are altogether ill founded, I will not preſume to affirm. Man, in his ſavage ſtate, in all parts of the world, is the ſlave of ſuperſtition; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its ſyſtem of religion be what it may) to direct the weakneſſes of our

fellow

fellow creatures to the promotion of their happineſs. The Chriſtian is not only the beſt ſyſtem of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character. APPENDIX.

Of this high and important truth I hope that I am fully ſenſible: Yet I cannot ſuppreſs the opinion which I have long ſince entertained, that the converſion of ſavage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Chriſtianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent perſons in Great Britain ſeem fondly to imagine.

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy ſuperſtitions of Africa (derived from their anceſtors) with ſuch enthuſiaſtick zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more ſincere in their faith, than the negroes of Guinea in believing the prevalence of *Obi* *, and the ſupernatural power of their *Obeah* men. Obſtacles like theſe, accompanied with the fierce and ſordid manners which I ſhall preſently deſcribe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleaſed to encounter, leſt they might experience all the ſufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

Under diſadvantages of ſuch magnitude was founded the firſt legal eſtabliſhment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long ſeries of years, to a life of warfare within the iſland, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment that they ſubmitted, for any length of time, to any ſyſtem of ſubordination or government whatever. It is probable

* A ſpecies of pretended magick, deſcribed at large in Vol. ii. Book 4. c. 3.

they

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they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive ſlaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, poſſeſſing an immenſe wilderneſs for their hunting grounds. Theſe purſuits gave full employment to the reſtleſs and turbulent among them. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the fleſh without ſalting it. This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and, with the money ariſing from the ſale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway ſlaves, they purchaſed ſalted beef, ſpirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, ſetting little or no account on clothing of any kind, and regarding as ſuperfluous and uſeleſs moſt of thoſe things which every people in the loweſt degree of civilization, would conſider as almoſt abſolutely neceſſary to human exiſtence.

Their language was a barbarous diſſonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spaniſh and broken Engliſh; and their thoughts and attention ſeemed wholly engroſſed by their preſent purſuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reflections on the paſt, or ſolicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have obſerved, in the prevalence of *Obi*, and the authority which ſuch of their old men as had the reputation of wizards, or *Obeah-men*, poſſeſſed over them, was ſometimes very ſucceſsfully employed in keeping them in ſubordination to their chiefs.

Having, in the reſources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily ſupport, they had no inclination for the purſuits of ſober induſtry. Their

repugnance

repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remarkable. In ſome of their villages I never could perceive any veſtige of culture; but the ſituation of their towns, in ſuch caſes, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the proviſion-grounds of which they either purchaſed, or ſtole, yams, plantains, corn, and other eſculents. When they had no ſupply of this kind, I have ſometimes obſerved ſmall patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few ſtraggling plantain trees, near their habitations; but the ground was always in a ſhocking ſtate of neglect and ruin.

The labours of the field, however, ſuch as they were (as well as every other ſpecies of drudgery) were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vaſt and heavy woods with which it is every where incumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees, till they were conſumed in the middle, and fell by their own weight. It was a ſervice of danger; but the Maroons, like all other ſavage nations, regarded their wives as ſo many beaſts of burthen; and felt no more concern at the loſs of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loſs of a bullock. Polygamy too, with their other African cuſtoms, prevailed among the Maroons univerſally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to ſix wives, and the miſeries of their ſituation left theſe poor creatures neither leiſure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

This ſpirit of brutality, which the Maroons always diſplayed towards their wives, extended in ſome degree to their children. The paternal authority was at all times moſt harſhly exerted; but more eſpecially towards the females. I have been aſſured, that it was not an uncommon circumſtance for a father, in a fit of rage or drunkenneſs,

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VISITS of this kind were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters; for they generally ended in drunkennefs and riot. The vifitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewife obliged *to furnifh the feaft*, it being indifpenfibly neceffary, on fuch occafions, to fend beforehand wine and provifions of all kinds; and if the guefts expected to fleep on beds and in linen, they muft provide thofe articles alfo for themfelves. The Maroons, however, if the party confifted of perfons of confequence, would confider themfelves as highly honoured, and would fupply wild-boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fifh, and entertain their guefts with a hearty and boifterous kind of hofpitality, which had at leaft the charms of novelty and fingularity to recommend it.

ON fuch occafions, a mock fight always conftituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following defcription of a fcene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-Town Maroons, in the prefence of the Governor, in 1764. "No fooner (he obferves)

ſerves) did the horn ſound the ſignal, than they all joined in a moſt hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exerciſe, indeed, more juſtly deſerves to be ſtiled *evolution* than any that is practiſed by the regular troops; for they fire ſtooping almoſt to the very ground; and no ſooner are their muſkets diſcharged, than they throw themſelves into a thouſand antick geſtures, and tumble over and over, ſo as to be continually ſhifting their place; the intention of which is to elude the ſhot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adverſaries, which their nimble and almoſt inſtantaneous change of poſition renders extremely uncertain. When this part of their exerciſe was over, they drew their ſwords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike geſtures, to advance towards his Excellency, endeavouring to throw as much ſavage fury into their looks as poſſible. On approaching near him, ſome waved their ruſty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilſt others claſhed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muſkets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, &c. &c."

With all this ſeeming fury and affected bravery, however, I ſuſpect that they are far below the whites in perſonal valour. Their mode of fighting in real war, is a ſyſtem of ſtratagem, buſh-fighting, and ambuſcade. I will not, indeed, affirm that ſuch a ſyſtem alone, though it diſplays no proof of courage, is abſolutely evidence to the contrary. I believe it is the natural mode of attack and defence, and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and above all to women and children, and from the ſhocking enormities which they practiſe on the

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the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons, in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive ſlaves, they manifeſt a blood-thirſtineſs of diſpoſition, which is otherwiſe unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is ſtimulated by the proſpect of reward, they can have no poſſible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their purſuit: yet it is notoriouſly true, that they wiſh for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death, frequently maiming them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legiſlature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive, inſtead of the living man; making the plea of reſiſtance an excuſe for their barbarity.

In the year 1760, an occaſion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of theſe people to the teſt. The Koromantyn ſlaves, in the pariſh of St. Mary, roſe into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to co-operate in their ſuppreſſion. A party of them accordingly arrived at the ſcene of action, the ſecond or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the inſurgents, in a pitched battle, at *Heywood-Hall*, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The Maroons were ordered to purſue them, and were promiſed a certain reward for each rebel they might kill or take priſoner. They accordingly puſhed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off from the heads of rebels they had ſlain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money ſtipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken

place, and that the ears which they had produced, had been ſevered from the dead Negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

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SOME few days after this, as the Maroons and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were ſtationed at a ſolitary place, ſurrounded by deep woods, called Downs's Cove, the detachment was ſuddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The centinels were ſhot, and the huts in which the ſoldiers were lodged, were ſet on fire. The light of the flames, while it expoſed the troops, ſerved to conceal the rebels, who poured in a ſhower of muſquetry from all quarters, and many of the ſoldiers were ſlain. Major Forſyth, who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a ſquare, and by keeping up a briſk fire from all ſides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forſyth, for ſome time, ſuſpected that they were themſelves the aſſailants. It was diſcovered, however that, immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themſelves flat on the ground, and continued in that poſition until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a ſhot.

A party of them, indeed, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boaſted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was ſaid had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having ſeen moſt of his companions ſlaughtered, was diſcovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately purſued by the Maroons, *in full cry*. The chaſe was of no long duration; he was ſhot through the head; and, it is painful to relate, but unqueſtionably true, that his ſavage purſuers, having decollated the body, in order to preſerve the head as the

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trophy of victory, *roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim* * *!*

THE misconduct of these people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living secluded from the rest of the community, they were supposed to have no knowledge of the rules and restraints to which all other classes of the inhabitants were subject; and the vigilance of justice (notwithstanding what has recently happened) seldom pursued them, even for offences of the most atrocious nature.

IN truth, it always seemed to me, that the whites in general entertained an opinion of the usefulness of the Maroons, which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed. — Possibly their personal appearance contributed, in some degree, to preserve the delusion; for, savage as they were in manners and disposition, their mode of living and daily pursuits undoubtedly strengthened the frame, and served to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine persons are seldom beheld among any other class of African or native blacks. Their demeanour is lofty, their walk firm, and their persons erect. Every motion displays a combination of strength and agility. The muscles (neither hidden nor depressed by clothing) are very prominent and strongly marked. Their sight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. These characteristicks, however, are common, I believe, to all savage

* The circumstances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and personal observation at the time (having been myself present) or from the testimony of eye witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it the subject of boasting and triumph.

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nations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other savages, the Maroons have only thofe fenfes perfect, which are kept in conftant exercife. Their fmell is obtufe, and their tafte fo depraved, that I have feen them drink new rum frefh from the ftill, in preference to wine which I offered them; and I remember, at a great feftival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their higheft luxury, in point of food, was fome rotten beef, which had been originally falted in Ireland, and which was probably prefented to them, by fome perfon who knew their tafte, *becaufe it was putrid.*

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SUCH was the fituation of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and obfervation. Of that revolt I fhall now proceed to defcribe the caufe, progrefs, and termination; and, if I know myfelf, without partiality or prejudice.

## SECTION III.

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IN the month of July 1795, two Maroons from Trelawney Town, having committed a felony in ſtealing ſome pigs, were apprehended, ſent to Montego Bay, and there tried for the offence, according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magiſtrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine laſhes on the bare back. The ſentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouſe, by the black overſeer of the workhouſe negroes; the perſon whoſe office it is to inflict puniſhment on ſuch occaſions. The offenders were then immediately diſcharged; and they went off, with ſome of their companions, abuſing and inſulting every white perſon whom they met in the road.

ON their return to Trelawney Town, and giving an account of what had paſſed, the whole body of Maroons immediately aſſembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themſelves, a party of them repaired to Captain Craſkell, the ſuperintendant, and ordered him, in the name of the whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's field, a plantation in the neighbourhood; and exerted himſelf, by friendly meſſages and otherwiſe, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They ſent a *written defiance* to the magiſtrates of Montego Bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th of that month (July). In the meanwhile an attempt was made on Captain Craſkell's life, and he very narrowly eſcaped.

ALARMED by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and diſpoſi-

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tion of the Maroons, the magiſtrates applied to General Palmer, requeſting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the General ſent an expreſs to the Earl of Balcarres, in Spaniſh Town, praying his Lordſhip to ſend down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly ſent, well accoutred and mounted.

The militia aſſembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer, that they wiſhed to have a conference in Trelawney Town, with John Tharp, Eſq. (the Cuſtos and Chief Magiſtrate of Trelawney) Meſſrs. Stewart and Hodges, the Members in the Aſſembly, and Jarvis Gallimore, Eſq. Colonel of the Militia.

As this meſſage ſeemed to manifeſt a diſinclination, on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hoſtilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th). They were accompanied by Colonel Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very diſtinguiſhed and gallant officer, and a man of the higheſt honour and character; by other perſons of conſideration; and alſo by Major James, whoſe ſon had formerly acted as ſuperintendant of the town, who was himſelf ſuperintendant-general of all the Maroon towns in the iſland, and was ſuppoſed to have more weight, and to poſſeſs greater influence, with the Maroons, than any other man in the country.

The Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and ſeemed ready for action; and they behaved with ſo much inſolence, that the gen-

 tlemen

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tlemen were at firft exceedingly alarmed for their own safety. A conference however enfued; in which it was obfervable that the Maroons complained—not of the injuftice or feverity of the punifhment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but—of the difgrace which they infifted the magiftrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punifhment to be inflicted in the workhoufe by the black overfeer or driver, and in the prefence of fugitive and felon negro flaves, many of whom they had themfelves apprehended *. They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they poffeffed; the difmiffion of Capt. Crafkell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former fuperintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of thefe requifitions; they promifed however to ftate their grievances to the commander in chief, and to recommend to the legiflature to grant them an addition of land. In the meanwhile, they affured the Maroons they would requeft the Governor to provide otherwife for Capt. Crafkell their fuperintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their favourite Mr. James. With thefe affurances the Maroons feemed pacified, and declared they had nothing further to afk; and the gentlemen, having diftributed a confiderable fum of money amongft them, returned to Montego Bay.

It foon appeared however, that the Maroons, in defiring this conference, were actuated folely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 fhips was to fail for great Britain on the morning of the 26th;

* It certainly is to be wifhed, that fome little attention had been paid, by the magiftrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this refpect. The law however is wholly filent on this head, and the court had a right to exercife its difcretion.

and

and they knew that very few Britiſh troops remained in the iſland, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that juncture, under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped, therefore, by the ſpecious and deluſive appearance of deſiring a conference, to quiet ſuſpicion, until the July fleet was ſailed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleaſed themſelves with the hope of prevailing on the negro ſlaves throughout the Iſland to join them: and by riſing in a maſs, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.



THE very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extenſive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay *. On ſome of theſe plantations their emiſſaries were cordially received and ſecreted: on others, the ſlaves themſelves voluntarily apprized their overſeers, that the Maroons were endeavouring to ſeduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was tranſmitted from many reſpectable quarters; but moſt of the gentlemen who had viſited the Maroons on the 20th, were ſo confident of their *fidelity* and *affection*, that the Governor, diſbelieving the charges againſt them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually ſailed from Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the Succeſs frigate.

IN the courſe of that, and the two ſucceeding days, however, ſuch intelligence was received at the Government houſe, as left no poſſible room to doubt the treachery of theſe *faithful* and *affectionate* people; and the Earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and deciſion which diſtinguiſh his character, determined on a line of conduct

* Trelawney Town is ſituated within twenty miles of the town and harbour of Montego Bay.

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adapted to the importance of the occaſion. The courſe from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether againſt the wind, and there is ſometimes a ſtrong lee current; as was fortunately the caſe at this juncture. Theſe were favourable circumſtances, and afforded the Governor room to hope that the tranſports which conveyed the troops might poſſibly be overtaken at ſea, by a faſt ſailing boat, from the eaſt end of the iſland, furniſhed with oars for rowing in the night. His Lordſhip was not miſtaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of Auguſt, off the north-eaſt end of Jamaica, and delivered orders to Captain Pigot of the Succeſs, forthwith to change his courſe, and proceed with the tranſports down the north ſide of the Iſland to Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and it is probable that by this happy accident the country was ſaved.

The 83d regiment, conſiſting of upwards of one thouſand effective men, commanded by Colonel Fitch, landed at Montego Bay on Tueſday the 4th of Auguſt. At this moment, although the militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmoſt anxiety was viſible in every countenance. The July fleet was ſailed; and the certainty that the Maroons had collected great quantities of arms and ammunition;—that they had been tampering with the ſlaves, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs and extent of their machinations, had caſt a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and conſpiracies diſtracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the moſt thoughtful and conſiderate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houſes and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding under the ſwords of the moſt mercileſs of aſſaſſins.

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The ſudden and unexpected arrival of ſo powerful a reinforcement, in the moſt critical moment, immediately changed the ſcene. But further meaſures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, compoſed chiefly of members of the Aſſembly, the Governor put the whole iſland under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well-mounted dragoons under the command of Colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were ſent down on the 3d: Colonel Walpole, with 150 diſmounted dragoons, embarked at the ſame time for Black River, to command the forces of St. Elizabeth and Weſtmoreland, and on the morning of the 4th, the Governor himſelf left Spaniſh Town for Montego Bay; determined to command on the ſcene of action in perſon.

The reader will eaſily conceive, that meaſures of ſuch extent and magnitude were not adopted ſolely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It muſt be repeated, that the moſt certain and abundant proofs had been tranſmitted to the commander in chief, of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enſlaved negroes, and it was impoſſible to foreſee the reſult. The ſituation of the ſlaves, under prevailing circumſtances, required the moſt ſerious attention. With the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful inſurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accuſtomed, for the preceding ſeven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to ſerve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Inſtructors were conſtantly found among the black ſervants continually returning from England; and I have not the ſmalleſt doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the Weſt Indies, were taught to believe that their maſters were generally conſidered in the mother-country, as a ſet of odious and abominable miſcreants, whom it was laudable to maſſacre!

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THE wisdom, decision, and activity of the Earl of Balcarres, on the present occasion, defeated their projects. The effect of his Lordship's conduct thenceforward, on the minds of the enslaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submission, tranquillity, and good order prevailed universally among them. The circumstance attending the return of the 83d regiment, induced them to believe that Heaven itself had declared in favour of the whites, and that all attempts at resistance were unavailing and impious.

THE Maroons themselves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney Town, the head quarters of sedition, recommended peace; and advised their companions to postpone their vengeance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the *Acompong* people declared in favour of the whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, *to fight the Bucras* (meaning the white people). The violent councils of the younger part of their community prevailed; most of whom were inflamed with a degree of savage fury against the whites, which set at nought all considerations of prudence and policy.

THE commander in chief, however, previous to any hostile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. As it was evident the Maroons consulted some person who could read and write, his Lordship, on the 8th of August, sent into their town a written message or summons in the following words:

*To the Maroons of Trelawney Town.*

" YOU have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and most dangerous rebellion.

" You

Dayes del.                                                                 Storer sc.

TRELAWNEY TOWN, *the* CHIEF RESIDENCE *of the* MAROONS.

*Publish'd Sept. 25, 1800, by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.*

"You have driven away the ſuperintendant placed over you by the laws of this country.

"You have treated him, your Commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to maſſacre him.

"You have put the Magiſtrates of the country, and all the white people, at defiance.

"You have challenged and offered them battle.

"You have forced the country, which has long cheriſhed and foſtered you as its children, to conſider you as an enemy.

"Martial law has in conſequence been proclaimed.

"Every paſs to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

"You are ſurrounded by thouſands.

"Look at Montego Bay, and you will ſee the force brought againſt you.

"I have iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thurſday, the 13th day of Auguſt.

"To avert theſe proceedings, I adviſe and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town, capable of bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego Bay, on Wedneſday the 12th day of Auguſt inſtant, and there ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty's mercy.

"On ſo doing, you will eſcape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put into execution on Thurſday, the 13th day of Auguſt; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this ſummons, your town ſhall be burnt to the ground, and for ever deſtroyed.

"And whereas it appears that other negroes, beſides the Maroons of Trelawney Town, were there under arms on the day that town was viſited by John Tharp, Eſq. and ſeveral other magiſtrates of the pariſh of Trelawney, you are ſtrictly commanded and enjoined to bring ſuch ſtranger

APPEN-DIX. ftranger negroes to Montego Bay, as prifoners, on or before the beforementioned Wednefday, the 12th day of Auguft inftant.

"BALCARRES."

APPREHENSIVE, however, that this fummons would have but little effect, the Governor at the fame time gave orders that the regulars and militia fhould take poffeffion of all the known paths leading to Trelawney Town from the furrounding parifhes; and the troops arrived at their refpective ftations early on the 9th.

ON the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, furrendered themfelves to the Governor's mercy, at Vaughan's-field, and frankly declared, that, with regard to the reft of the town, they were determined on war. "*The devil*, they faid, *had got into them*," and nothing but fuperiority of force would bring them to reafon.

TWO of the thirty-eight were, however, fent back to try, for the laft time, if perfuafion would avail; but they were detained by the reft, who, having fecreted their women and children, *paffed the Rubicon* the enfuing night, by fetting fire themfelves to their town, and commencing hoftilities on the outpofts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and fix wounded: and thus began this unfortunate war.

THE Maroons immediately afterwards affembled in a body, near a fmall village which was called their *New* Town, behind which were their provifion grounds.—On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to Lieutenant Colonel Sandford to march with a detachment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horfe militia, and take poffeffion of thofe grounds the fame evening; it being the Governor's intention to attack the Maroons at the

fame

ſame time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunt s; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was perſuaded, inſtead of waiting at his poſt for further orders from the Governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to puſh after the enemy; a moſt unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a ſacrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the New Town, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuſcade, which unfortunately ſucceeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow; and the troops had marched about half way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire enſued from the buſhes. Colonel Sandford was among the firſt that fell, and with him periſhed Quarter Maſter M'Bride, ſix privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were ſlain outright, and, among the reſt, the commanding officer, Colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers alſo were killed, and many of all deſcriptions wounded. The troops, however, puſhed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardſhip, the ſurvivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them moſt of their wounded companions *.

* Among the officers of the militia who eſcaped on this occaſion, was my late excellent and lamented friend *George Goodin Barrett*. He was attended on that day by a favourite Negro Servant; of whom it is related that, during the firſt attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree preſent his gun at his beloved maſter, he inſtantly ruſhed forward to protect him, by interpoſing his own perſon; and actually received the ſhot in his breaſt. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deſerved, for ſuch an inſtance of heroick fidelity as hiſtory has ſeldom recorded.

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Thus terminated this difaftrous and bloody conflict; in which it was never known with certainty, that a fingle Maroon loft his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the beft informed among the planters, in confequence of it, again anticipated the moft dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the Governor thought it neceffary, in a proclamation which he iffued on the occafion, to make publick the orders he had given to Colonel Sandford, and to declare in exprefs terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the poft which it was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to furrender themfelves prifoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal leffon (adds his Lordfhip moft truly) the indifpenfible neceffity of ftrictly adhering to orders. An excefs of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplifhment of any military enterprize, as cowardice itfelf."—The truth was, that the whole detachment held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons mode of fighting, difregarded the advice of fome faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the clafs of people on whom the Maroons relied for fupport, remained peaceably difpofed; nor did an inftance occur to raife a doubt of their continuing to do fo.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the Governor's abfence, devolved on Colonel Fitch, an officer whofe general deportment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons found means to elude his vigilance. They had now eftablifhed their head quarters at a place in the interior country, of moft difficult accefs, called the *Cockpits*; a fort of valley or dell, furrounded by fteep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which

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they had ſecreted their women and children, and depoſited their ammunition. From this retreat (almoſt inacceſſible to any but themſelves) they ſent out ſmall parties of their ableſt and moſt enterprizing young men, ſome of which were employed in prowling about the country in ſearch of proviſions, and others in ſetting fire by night to ſuch houſes and plantations as were unprovided with a ſufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and ſettlement of Mr. George Gordon, called Kenmure; and ſoon afterwards the dwelling-houſe and buildings of a coffee plantation, called Lapland; the proprietor too ſuſtained the ſtill greater loſs of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaden with plunder. Another plantation, called Catadupa, was deſtroyed by them in the ſame manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the ſame time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Eſq.; a ſettlement belonging to Meſſrs. Stevens and Bernard, a plantation called Bandon, a houſe of a Mr. Lewis, and various others.

At theſe places ſeveral white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any diſtinction of ſex, or regard to age. Even women in childbed, and infants at the breaſt, were alike indiſcriminately ſlaughtered by this ſavage enemy; and the ſhrieks of the miſerable victims, which were diſtinctly heard at the poſts of the Britiſh detachments, frequently conveyed the firſt notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

The fate of Mr. Gowdie, a reſpectable and venerable planter, who lived within a few miles of Trelawney Town, was remarkable. This gentleman, having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deſerved, had employed one of their chief men to act as the overſeer or ſuperintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with ſingular

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ſingular kindneſs, and allowed him the ſame wages as would have been paid to a white perſon in the ſame capacity. Although, on the commencement of hoſtilities, this man had joined the inſurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to viſit his own plantation, as often as his neceſſary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the moſt perfect confidence that his Maroon overſeer would interfere to protect him from danger; yet did this barbarous villain come himſelf to the houſe of his benefactor, at the head of a band of ſavages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Maroons had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without diſtinction, he maſſacred both him and his nephew (the only white perſon with him) without compunction or remorſe.

But, perhaps, no one circumſtance in the courſe of this moſt unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general ſympathy, than the death of Colonel Fitch, who, notwithſtanding the recent example of Colonel Sandford's fate, periſhed nearly in the ſame manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him ſurpriſed by an enemy in ambuſh. On the 12th of September he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, conſiſting of thirty-two men, to relieve ſome diſtant out-poſts; at one of which he left a guard, and proceeded onwards with the reſt of his men; but after getting about half a mile farther, he was attacked by a volley of muſquetry from the buſhes, and received a wound in the breaſt, with which he dropt. After expreſſing a wiſh, and receiving aſſurances, that he ſhould not fall alive into the hands of the mercileſs ſavages, he raiſed himſelf up; when another ball took place in his forehead, which inſtantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro ſervants, were alſo killed, and

and Captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not puſhed forward to their aſſiſtance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have eſcaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity, and Captain Leigh afterwards died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day was aggravated too by a circumſtance, which, though ſhocking to relate, muſt not be omitted, as it ſtrongly marks the baſe and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of Colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party ſent to give them the rites of ſepulture, it was perceived that the head had been ſeparated from the body, and was entombed *in the ill-fated officer's own bowels!*

It now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty than was imagined, to ſtop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by this horde of ſavages, and it was allowed that extraordinary meaſures were neceſſary in order to counteract their conſtant practice of planting ambuſhes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the beſt diſciplined troops in the world could always avail againſt men, who, lurking in ſecret like the tygers of Africa, (themſelves unſeen) had no object but murder. The legiſlative bodies of the iſland were ſoon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community reſted on their councils.

## SECTION IV.

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THE General Aſſembly was convened the latter end of September, and their firſt deliberations were directed to the ſubject of the Maroon rebellion, with a ſolicitude equal to its importance. On this occaſion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and enquire into the meaſures that had been ſucceſsfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which, previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on againſt the ſame enemy. The expedient which had then been reſorted to, of employing dogs to diſcover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which reſulted from their mode of fighting in ambuſcade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the preſent conjuncture; and it being known that the Spaniſh Americans poſſeſſed a certain ſpecies of thoſe animals, which it was judged would be proper for ſuch a ſervice, the Aſſembly reſolved to ſend to the iſland of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a ſufficient number of the Spaniſh huntſmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which theſe dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the purſuit of wild bullocks, which they ſlaughter for the hides; and the great uſe of the dog is to drive the cattle from ſuch heights and receſſes in the mountainous parts of the country, as are leaſt acceſſible to the hunters.

THE Aſſembly were not unapprized that the meaſure of calling in ſuch auxiliaries, and urging the canine ſpecies to the purſuit of human beings, would probably give riſe to much obſervation and animadverſion in the

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mother-country. Painful experience on other occaſions, had taught them, that their conduct in the preſent caſe, would be ſcrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumſpection, which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticiſm, could exerciſe. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the new world, would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true, that dogs were uſed by thoſe chriſtian barbarians againſt the peaceful and inoffenſive Americans, and the juſt indignation of all mankind has ever ſince branded, and will continue to brand, the Spaniſh nation with infamy, for ſuch atrocities. It was foreſeen, and ſtrongly urged as an argument againſt recurring to the ſame weapon in the preſent caſe, that the prejudices of party and the virulent zeal of faction and bigotry, would place the proceedings of the Aſſembly on this occaſion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the ſame blood-ſtained theatre, in times paſt. No reaſonable allowance would be made for the wide difference exiſting between the two caſes. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with Britiſh troops, would give not only a cruel, but alſo a very daſtardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To theſe, and ſimilar objections it was anſwered, that the ſafety of the iſland, and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be ſacrificed to perverſe miſconſtruction or wilful miſrepreſentation in the mother-country. It was maintained that the grounds of the meaſure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly ſtated, to induce all reaſonable men to admit its propriety and neceſſity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as inſtruments of war, is a poſition contradicted by the practice of all nations.—The Aſiaticks have ever uſed

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elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man, in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry; yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush savages more ferocious and bloodthirsty than the animals which track them?

The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war; and the objects sought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the first writers on publick law, was adduced in support of this construction. "If the cause and end of war (says Paley *) be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds: for since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed." It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings, or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tend-

* Moral Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 417.

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ing to procure his ſubmiſſion; ſuch as the ſlaughter of captives, the ſubjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the deſtruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. Theſe enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itſelf; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accompliſh the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjuſtifiable, namely, *ultimate and gratuitous miſchief.* Now all theſe very enormities were practiſed, not by the Whites againſt the Maroons, but by the Maroons themſelves againſt the Whites. Humanity therefore, it was ſaid, was no way concerned in the ſort of expedient that was propoſed, or any other, by which ſuch an enemy could moſt ſpeedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceleſs race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of aſſaſſins: and tenderneſs towards ſuch an enemy, was cruelty to all the reſt of the community.

Happily, in the interval between the determination of the Aſſembly to procure the Spaniſh dogs, and the actual arrival of thoſe auxiliaries from Cuba, ſuch meaſures were purſued as promiſed to render their aſſiſtance altogether unneceſſary.—On the death of Colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the abſence of the Governor, was entruſted to Major General Walpole, an officer whoſe indefatigable zeal and alacrity, whoſe gallantry, circumſpection, and activity, in a very ſhort time gave a new aſpect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the laſt extremity. Although the country to which the Maroons retired, was perhaps the ſtrongeſt and moſt impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it was entirely deſtitute of ſprings and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the

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rocks was exhaufted, and the enemy's only refource was in the leaves of the *wild-pine*; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the fterile and rocky defarts of the torrid zone in fome degree habitable *; but even this refource was at length exhaufted, and the fufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were exceffive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or moft of the paffes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perfeverance in the fame fyftem muft, it was thought, foon force the enemy to an unconditional furrender.

In fpite of all thefe precautions, however, a rebel Captain of the name of Johnfon, found means to conduct a fmall detachment of the Maroons into the parifh of St. Elizabeth, and to fet fire to many of the plantations in that fertile diftrict. His firft attempt was againft the habitation of a Mr. M'Donald, whofe neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his fon, haftened to his affiftance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a mufket ball, but the fon fhot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to a place of fafety, where he happily recovered.—The Maroons were repulfed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmolefted; and as this was

* The botanical name is *Tillandfia maxima*. It is not, properly fpeaking, *a tree*, but a plant, which fixes itfelf and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every fhower. Each leaf refembles a fpout, and forms at its bafe a natural bucket or refervoir, which contains about a quart of pure water, where it remains perfectly fecure, both from the wind and the fun; yielding refrefhment to the thirfty traveller in places where water is not otherwife to be procured.

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the firſt inſtance of tenderneſs ſhewn by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the conſciouſneſs of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their diſpoſition.

THE earl of Balcarres, as ſoon as the buſineſs of the Aſſembly would allow him to be abſent from the capital, returned in perſon to the ſcene of action, and it is impoſſible to ſpeak of his, and general Walpole's exertions, in terms of ſufficient approbation, or to convey any juſt idea of the fatigues and hardſhips which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and ſkirmiſhes that enſued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracks and glades of which the military term *defile*, gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and proviſions, and ſecured their women and children, were inacceſſible to the Whites. The place called the *Cockpits* before mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a ſteep rock 150 feet in almoſt perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obſtacle was ſurmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with ſingular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to Britiſh troops was altogether aſtoniſhing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well-founded confidence in their chief commanders, ſeem to bave felt a noble emulation which ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves for zeal in the cauſe, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in puſhing forward on every ſervice of difficulty and danger; ſuſtaining without a murmur many extraordinary hardſhips; among

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which, diftrefs for want of water, and thirft even to extremity, were none of the leaft.

It was eafily forefeen that a perfeverance in the fame line of conduct, muft ultimately prove fuccefsful; and intimations were at length received, by means of enflaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their fervice, and purpofely difmiffed, that they were extremely defirous of an accommodation, on any terms fhort of capital punifhment, or tranfportation from the country. They expreffed a willingnefs, it was faid, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive flaves that had joined them, to furrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in fuch parts of the country as the colonial government fhould approve. Although thefe overtures were evidently dictated by deprecation and defpair, it was the opinion of many wife and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was faid that General Walpole himfelf concurred in the fame fentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, muft be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however, would probably elude the laft purfuit of vengeance; and thefe would form a central point to which the runaway negroes would refort. Thus hoftilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was obferved that a fingle Maroon, in the feafon of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might deftroy the cane-fields of many opulent parifhes, and confume in a few hours, property of immenfe value. To thefe confiderations, was to be added the vaft expence of continuing the war. The country had already expended £.500,000, exclufive of the lofs which was fuftained by individual proprietors confequent on the removal from their plantations of all the white fervants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was fufpended, the courts

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of law had long been ſhut up; and the iſland at large ſeemed more like a garriſon, under the power of the law-martial, than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature, induſtry and proſperity.

On the other hand, it was loudly declared that a compromiſe with a lawleſs banditti, who had ſlaughtered ſo many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in child-bed, and infants at the breaſt, was a ſhameful ſacrifice of the publick honour; a total diſregard to the dictates of juſtice; an encouragement to the reſt of the Maroons to commit ſimilar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in ſervitude; tending to impreſs on their minds an idea not of the lenity of the Whites, but of their inability to puniſh ſuch atrocious offenders. It was alledged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themſelves ſeriouſly deſirous of ſuch an accommodation. Their only purpoſe was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging perhaps that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the diſtance of one hundred miles from their places of reſidence, would ſoon be tired of the conteſt. Many facts were indeed related, and ſome ſtrong circumſtances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved that the Maroons had not altogether relinquiſhed their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enſlaved negroes. Such an event was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The diſmiſſion of the troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was ſaid, realize the danger.

Fortunately for all parties, this unnatural and deſtructive revolt, was brought to a happy termination much ſooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commiſſioner who went to the Havannah

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nah for affiftance, arrived at Montego Bay with forty *chaffeurs* or Spanifh hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spanifh dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately fpread of the terrifick appearance, and favage nature of thefe animals, as made an impreffion on the minds of the negroes that was equally furprifing and unexpected*.

WHETHER thefe reports were propagated through folly or defign, they had certainly a powerful and very falutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now difplayed ftrong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and fubmiffion, and renewed their folicitations for peace with great earneftnefs and anxiety. A negociation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded on the 21ft of December, of which the chief articles were, 1ft. That the Maroons fhould, on their knees, afk the King's pardon. 2dly. That they fhould fix their future refidence in fuch part of the ifland, as the legiflature fhould point out: And 3dly. That they fhould deliver up all the fugitive negro flaves that had joined them. On thefe conditions it was ftipulated and agreed, that their lives fhould be granted them, and that they fhould not be tranfported from the ifland; and they were allowed ten days to collect their families and perform the treaty.

* Though thefe dogs are not in general larger than the fhepherds dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much refemble) they were reprefented as equal to the maftiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in fcent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If entire credit had been given to the defcription that was tranfmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been fuppofed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of *Cerberus* himfelf, the many-headed monfter that guarded the infernal regions.

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So great however was the terror of these wretched people, arising from the consciousness of their enormities, or their unaccountable infatuation, that only twenty-one of their number surrendered by the time limited; and thirteen others three days afterwards.

On the 14th of January, therefore, orders were issued from the commander in chief to General Walpole, to march without further delay against the rebels. These orders were punctually obeyed; but, from regard to humanity, the Spanish dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a short way in the woods, when a supplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and 260 of them soon afterwards surrendered *on no other condition than a promise of their lives.* It is pleasing to observe, that not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the island.

Some of the young men, however, still held out, and it was not until the middle of March that the rebellion was entirely extinguished by the surrender of the whole body; *nor even then, or at any time before, were any of the fugitive negroes that had joined them delivered up.*

It might be supposed therefore, that no question could have arisen whether the treaty was observed or not, on the part of the Maroons. Nevertheless it did so happen, that doubts on this head were suggested on such respectable authority, as induced the commander in chief, with great prudence and propriety, to leave the whole matter to the investigation and determination of the Council and Assembly, who appointed a joint and secret committee to receive evidence and report on the facts before them.

On the report of this Committee the Assembly, by a majority of 21 to 13, came to the following resolutions, among others, viz.

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"THAT all the Maroons who ſurrendered after the firſt of January, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be ſhipped off the iſland; but that they ought to be ſent to a country in which they will be free, and ſuch as may be beſt calculated, by ſituation, to ſecure the iſland againſt the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with ſuitable clothing and neceſſaries for the voyage, and maintained at the publick expence of this iſland for a reaſonable time after their arrival at the place of their deſtination.

"THAT it is the opinion of this Houſe, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, ſervices, and good behaviour, ſince their ſurrender, have merited protection and favour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor to permit ſuch to remain in the iſland, together with their wives and children; and to diſtinguiſh them by any other marks of favour he may think proper."

OF the policy of ridding the country of ſuch an enemy (admitting the juſtice of the war on the part of the Whites) there could not have been, I ſhould have thought, but one opinion. After ſuch a war, carried on in ſuch a manner, it is impoſſible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the white inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a ſullen, ſubjugated people, employed only in ſeducing the enſlaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themſelves, whenever occaſion ſhould offer. "No country on earth," ſays Rutherford, "would ſuffer a body of men to live within its territories, unleſs they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general ſecurity requires." To expect ſuch conduct from the Maroons, was to manifeſt a total ignorance of their diſpoſition. The determination therefore of the

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legiſlature of the colony to tranſport theſe people from the iſland being thus fixed, it remains only to point out in what manner it was enforced.

In the beginning of June 1796, his Majeſty's ſhip the Dover, with two tranſports in company, having on board the Trelawney Maroons (in number about ſix hundred) provided with all manner of neceſſaries, as well for their accommodation at ſea, as for the change of climate, ſailed from Blue-fields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrell, and Alexander Ouchterlony, Eſquires, commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly, with authority and inſtructions (ſubject to his Majeſty's approbation and further orders) to purchaſe lands in Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, or where elſe his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to appoint, for the future eſtabliſhment and ſubſiſtence of thoſe Maroons, as a free people. The commiſſioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and climate. The ſum of £. 25,000 was allowed by the aſſembly for thoſe purpoſes. They arrived at Halifax in the month of July, and the following letter from Sir John Wentworth, Bart. the governor of the province, to a friend in London, dated the 10th of November, 1796, will convey to the reader the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory account of their reception in the province, and of the meaſures happily adopted for their future eſtabliſhment and improvement. With this letter, which I have been permitted to copy from the original, I ſhall cloſe my account.

"The Maroons are now comfortably ſettled, and their ſituation will be daily improving. They are hitherto quiet, orderly, and contented. I have long had experience uſeful for this occaſion, and have not a doubt, but that theſe will be an happy and uſeful people. In this country they can do no harm; nor do they ſeem diſpoſed

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to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a miſſionary and chaplain, with an aſſiſtant teacher, to perform the ſervice of the church of England; to inſtruct them in Chriſtianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cypher. Laſt Sunday I attended publick worſhip in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and moſt exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due courſe. They are ſolicitous for this duty, and appear deſirous of inſtruction, from whence civilization will naturally reſult. The climate is and will be ſalutary to them. The children were emaciated, and moſt of the adults worn down by war, impriſonment, and ſea-ſickneſs: they are now healthy, ſtrong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the moſt judicious and ſenſible among them, are perfectly ſatisfied, and happy in their future proſpects."

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*The following Votes and Proceedings of the Aſſembly, are added by way of Illuſtration.*

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

*Friday, April* 22, 1796.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit the ſum of ſeven hundred guineas to the agent of the iſland, for the purpoſe of purchaſing a ſword, to be preſented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCAR-

Balcarres, as a teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe which the Houſe entertain of his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, diſplayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whoſe auſpices, by the bleſſing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a moſt dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as ſecurity of the iſland, have been highly augmented.

Ordered, that a copy of the above reſolution be ſent to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requeſted to preſent the thanks of the Houſe to the Hon. Major-General Walpole, for the ſignal ſervices performed by him to this iſland, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem con.* That the Receiver-General do remit to the agent of this iſland, five hundred guineas, for the purpoſe of purchaſing a ſword, to be preſented to the Hon. Major-General Walpole; as a teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe which the Houſe entertain of his important ſervices and diſtinguiſhed merit, in the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requeſted to give the thanks of the Houſe to the brave Officers and Privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant ſervices to the iſland, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons; and that the Commander in Chief, under whoſe auſpices they fought, be requeſted by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high ſenſe which the Houſe entertain of their diſtinguiſhed merit.

*Thurſday, April 28.*

A Motion being made, that a Committee be appointed to enquire and report to the Houſe the names of ſuch perſons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion, that

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that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent services;

Ordered, that Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a Committee for that purpose.

*Saturday, April 30.*

The Lieutenant-Governor's answer to the message from the House, with the resolution of the 22d inst.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,*

The present you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22d instant, is inestimable.

A soldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is placed in his sword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the island of Jamaica.

Balcarres.

The following address was this day presented to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor:

WE, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your honour, our most sincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

This great and important event must be productive of substantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country; in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights, are restored; publick credit, so essential to the support

ſupport of government, and to the proſperity, if not to the very exiſtence of the country, is re-eſtabliſhed, and our internal ſecurity greatly increaſed and confirmed.

FROM all theſe ineſtimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property, which is likely to take place; and which, in time, we truſt, will compenſate all the loſſes and expenditure of treaſure unavoidably incurred in the proſecution of the war.

IT is with peculiar ſatisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impreſſion made on us by the energy diſplayed by your Lordſhip in difficult operations of war; which affords the moſt convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifeſted in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the ſound policy, and deciſive meaſures, which marked the wiſdom of your councils.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Aſſembly,*

YOUR addreſs excites in my boſom every ſenſation of pleaſure, the mind of man is capable of receiving.

THE picture you have drawn of the future proſperity of the Iſland, is ſtrong and impreſſive.

AFTER contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a ſentiment ariſes, grateful and ſoothing to a feeling heart—

THAT, during your conteſt with an enemy the moſt ferocious that ever diſgraced the annals of hiſtory:

THAT, during your conteſt with an army of ſavages, who have indiſcriminately maſſacred every priſoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a ſingle act of retaliation, has ſullied the brightneſs of your arms.

I PRAY

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I PRAY that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have ſo honourably diſplayed, may deſcend to your children; and ſecure to them for ever, thoſe bleſſings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover.

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☞ IT muſt not be omitted (though I mention it with great concern) that Major-General Walpole, being diſſatisfied with the reſolution of the Legiſlature to tranſport the Maroons from the country, declined the acceptance of the ſword voted by the Aſſembly.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.